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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this study is to present documented facts concerning the operation of school desegregation in communities which are engaged in the process. The purpose of the Commission on Civil Rights is to identify problems which recur in school districts undergoing desegregation, and to describe how they have been met. Specifically, the Commission has been interested in learning how students of all races react to one another when they sit side by side in schools for the first time in their lives. It has also sought to learn how teachers react to students of other races and socioeconomic backgrounds as well as to teachers of other races. Why and to what extent does "white flight" occur? How have some school districts prepared for desegregation? What, if any, problems are created by busing? Of the nine communities investigated here, some are in the South and some in the North. Some are rural and others are heavily urban. Some are central cities and some suburbs. Some have been forced to desegregate by court order or the threat of fund termination by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Others have undertaken to eliminate the dual school system on their own before being required to do so. Still others have sought to desegregate their schools simply because they felt it was the right thing to do. (Author/JM)

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A Report on School Desegregation In Nine Communities

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

December 1972

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Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin;

Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin;

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INTRODUCTION

Nearly two decades have passed since the Supreme Court of the United States, in *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka,*[1] ruled that publicly enforced school segregation violated the Constitution. "Separate educational facilities," the Court declared, "are inherently unequal."

The *Brown* decision was not the end, but rather the beginning of judicial efforts to eliminate dual school systems. For the next 18 years, the Federal courts were to wrestle with school integration.

Brown had little immediate impact, although the Supreme Court issued a second ruling in 1955 that school desegregation efforts must be made with "all deliberate speed." Efforts in the next decade were deliberate to be sure, but not speedy. Following enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, many southern school districts adopted so-called freedom-of-choice plans [2] which produced little integration. White pupils seldom, if ever, chose to attend majority black schools, and black children, perhaps apprehensive of hostility by the overwhelmingly white majority, rarely chose to attend white schools.

Despite further Supreme Court rulings to the effect that racial discrimination must be eliminated "root and branch" and that token desegregation resulting from freedom-of-choice plans did not comply with constitutional requirements, those who had opposed the concept of nondiscriminatory education continued dilatory or obstructionist tactics. School attendance lines which had the effect of keeping minority children confined to racially segregated schools in racially segregated neighborhoods, predictions of likely disorder or even administrative collapse of school systems should integration occur, complaints that unreasonable costs would preclude any integration—all were offered in public and in the courtroom as obstacles to effective school desegregation plans.

By 1969, however, 15 years after the *Brown* case, the pace of desegregation had accelerated. During the 1969–70 school year, large numbers of school districts desegregated, both under court order and voluntarily. In the 1970–71 school year, nationwide, the number of black students in majority white schools was 33 percent, an increase of 10 percent from the preceding year. While this figure shows considerable progress, it also demonstrates that much of the job of giving every child equal educational opportunity remains to be done.

The integration of some school systems was accompanied by a great public outcry. Stories were heard of fights on buses and in the schools, of upset parents, disrupted schools, curtailed learning, and of other damage to the communities' school life. The actual situation in most districts stood in strong contrast to the newspaper headlines and television newscasts. Most parents did not block school entrances, most teachers did not resign in droves, and few students engaged in disorders.

Nevertheless, today the courts are under attack and represented as imposing unreasonable requirements to integrate the schools. Legislation and constitutional amendments that would severely under-

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[1] *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka,* 347 U.S. 483 (1954). *Brown* held that separate education is inherently unequal.

[2] Freedom-of-choice and geographic zoning plans occur throughout this report. They are two principal techniques widely used by school districts as means of achieving school desegregation.

Freedom-of-choice is a method of school assignment which allows a pupil or his parent to choose the public school which he wants to attend.

Geographic zoning is a method of assignment of all students to schools on the basis of a single set of geographic attendance zones. Pairing or grouping of grades, feeder patterns, and magnet schools are means sometimes used within geographic zoning as aids to desegregation.

School desegregation by pairing or grouping of grades is achieved when the attendance areas of two or more nearby schools are merged so that each school serves different grade levels for a new, larger attendance area.

Feeder patterns determine which junior and senior high schools students will attend after finishing elementary schooling. They may be designed to expedite desegregation.

A magnet school is one which ranges from full-time schools with special academic programs to centers with programs which supplement the basic academic skills taught in the child's regular school.

mine the foundation of the *Brown* decision now are being urged in Congress.

Above all, many Americans—black and white—are losing faith in desegregation as a workable, worthwhile means of achieving equal opportunity and are beginning to wonder if the turmoil and controversy it has engendered is more than it is worth. They have become confused about the real facts concerning desegregation and uncertain whether the problems involved can be successfully overcome.

Many communities throughout the country, whose schools were once rigidly segregated, now are in various stages of the desegregation process. There is much that we can learn from their experience and many questions can be answered by examining how desegregation has worked in fact.

Earlier this year, the Commission investigated school desegregation in five representative communities across the country—Charlotte, North Carolina; Tampa, Florida; Pontiac, Michigan; Winston-Salem, North Carolina; and Pasadena, California—and issued a report on the basis of these investigations.

In its current study, the Commission has investigated the course of school desegregation in nine additional communities. Some are in the South and some in the North. Some are rural and others are heavily urban. Some are central cities and some are suburbs. Some have been forced to desegregate by court order or the threat of fund termination by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW). Others have undertaken to eliminate the dual school system on their own before being required to do so. Still others have sought to desegregate their schools simply because they felt it was the right thing to do.

The main purpose of this study, as with the previous one, is to present documented facts concerning the operation of school desegregation in communities which are actively engaged in the process. The Commission is convinced that only on the basis of objective fact and experience can the Nation be in a position to make sound judgments on this vital issue. The study is not intended to paint a glowing picture of uniform success. The Commission has not searched out individual "success" stories, where achievements might be impressive but so unique as to be meaningless to other communities. Rather, the Commission's purpose has been to identify problems which recur in school districts undergoing desegregation and to describe how they have been met.

Specifically, the Commission has been interested in learning how students of all races react to one another when they sit side by side in schools for the first time in their lives. How well do they get along in the cafeterias, the corridors, in extracurricular activities, and at dances? It also has sought to learn how teachers react to students of other races and socioeconomic backgrounds as well as to teachers of other races. Why and to what extent does "white flight" occur? How have some school districts prepared for desegregation? What, if any, problems are created by busing? Does violence or crime often accompany school desegregation, especially in inner-city areas? How is discipline administered in newly desegregated schools? What happens to PTAs after desegregation?

These are among the important questions that these nine communities have had to face. In some, the fears that were anticipated—lower quality education, violence and crime, lengthy bus rides—have been proven to be groundless. In others, the fears, at least in part, have been substantiated. Thus in some communities a number of white parents withdrew their children from the public schools and either moved to a different school district or enrolled them in newly created private academies. Although the situation has tended to become stabilized, the problem of "white flight" has by no means been entirely resolved. Still other problems that arose, such as black objections to school desegregation which was accomplished by busing only black children, frequently were not anticipated.

In short, the Commission's investigation of these nine communities does indeed demonstrate that the process of change from segregated to desegregated schools often creates difficulties and places great burdens and responsibilities on all concerned—school administrators, teachers, students, parents, city officials, news media, and community leaders.

Among the problems common to these communities are those experienced by teachers in adjusting to desegregated classes, the displacement of black school officials from positions of responsibility in the wake of desegregation, the resegregation of students within schools caused by homogeneous ability grouping, real or imagined unfairness in student discipline, and community anxiety which can quickly be transformed into panic caused by the smallest incident. Of all of these, the least serious problem has been the students themselves. In most cases, they have adjusted quickly and smoothly to the new school environment, often despite fears and anxieties of their parents.

The communities visited by the Commission reflect varying stages of desegregation, varying attitudes toward it by the community, and varying problems accompanying the process. None of these desegregation efforts can yet be labeled a total success. In many there have been disappointments and setbacks, and the outcome remains in doubt. Nevertheless, from an analysis of the kinds of problems these communities have encountered and the steps they have taken in an effort to meet them—often on a trial-and-error basis—we all can learn and find many of our fears dissolved. This is particularly true of our fear of the unknown.

Commission investigations also have found that these communities have not stood by idly permitting the problems to overwhelm them, but have taken action—often vigorous and creative action—to head them off. To a large extent, the problems that have arisen and the action necessary to meet them have been unique, depending on the particular history, tradition, and attitudes of the area. However, several elements, common to most of the school systems visited, offer a key to such progress as has been made.

One vital element in a smooth transition from segregation to desegregation has been the determination of the school board and administration to carry out the desegregation plan and to do so firmly and unswervingly. Another has been the support of the news media, local officials, and civic leaders. A third has been the steps taken to assure that responsibility for desegregation does not fall disproportionately on one part of the community, but that all share it equally. A fourth has materialized by closely involving parents as active participants in desegregation, by keeping them thoroughly informed, and by actively soliciting their views and suggestions. A fifth has been the development of procedures to assure firm but fair and impartial discipline of all students, and their full participation in school activities. A sixth has been the efforts made to improve the quality of education being offered while desegregation is in process.

None of these elements, either singly or in combination, is a guarantee of success, and certainly not of instant success. The long tradition of racial separation, and the fears and misunderstandings that this had bred, cannot realistically be shaken off so quickly. But the experience in these nine communities strongly suggests that through patience, thoughtfulness, and a common sense of fairness, equal educational opportunity for all the Nation's children can finally be achieved.

PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN ALACHUA COUNTY, GAINESVILLE, FLA.

Background

Alachua County occupies 916 square miles in north central Florida. Its total population in 1970 was 104,764, of which 21,563 is black. Gainesville, the largest city in Alachua County, has a population of approximately 64,510, of which 12,041 is black. It is the county seat and the home of the University of Florida. Other employment is provided by the Veterans Administration Hospital, the local, State, and Federal governments, and industry. The main industries in Alachua are lumber (manufacturers of wood products and furniture) and farming, particularly peanuts, tobacco, and corn.

In the opinion of a local administrator, one of the major problems facing Alachua County is underemployment. "[It] is a problem for all, particularly the black population."

Alachua has a median family income of $8,329, compared with $8,267 for the State. Approximately 15.3 percent of the population earns less than the officially defined poverty level but 17.6 percent earn more than $15,000.[1]

The university community is considered moderate to liberal in its social and political views, and its faculty and student body appear active and interested in the community.

The History of School Desegregation in Alachua County, Fla.

Alachua County schools operated under a court-ordered freedom-of-choice-plan between the years 1964 and 1969. Suit had been instituted in 1964 by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund on behalf of Lavon Wright, daughter of a former president of the NAACP Branch in Gainesville. At the time, there had been 11 all-black schools in the district. A white parent observed that "under freedom of choice, desegregation was achieved by zoning, and if blacks wanted an education, they moved. Those who didn't, stayed in black schools."

In 1968–69, Alachua County had 27 schools. After 5 years of freedom-of-choice eight all-black and three all-white schools remained.[2] Gainesville Senior High School, grades 10–12, had 145 black students in the total enrollment of 2,329. According to a central office school official, these black students were the leaders from the all-black school, Lincoln, which housed grades 7–12.

In October 1969 the Supreme Court of the United States ruled in *Alexandria* v. *Holmes* [3] that continued operation of racially segregated schools under the standard of "all deliberate speed" was no longer constitutionally permissible and that school districts must *immediately* (emphasis added) terminate dual school systems based on race and operate only unitary school systems. Justice Black, speaking for the full Court, wrote:

> . . . [T]here are no longer any justiciable issues in the question of making effective not only promptly but at once—now—orders sufficient to vindicate the rights of any pupil in the United States who is effectively excluded from a public school because of his race or color.

And, further, that

> . . . It has been 15 years since we declared in the two *Brown* cases that a law which prevents a child from going to a public school because of his color violates the Equal Protection Clause. As this record conclusively shows, there are many places still in this country where the schools are either 'white' or 'Negro' and not just schools for all children as the

[1] 1970 Census of General Social and Economic Characteristics. Florida: Table 44.

[2] One of the eight black schools had three white students and one had two white students. One of the all-white schools had eight black students and one had one black student. HEW/OCR Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Selected Districts: Enrollment by Racial/Ethnic Group. Fall 1968. (Hereinafter referred to as HEW statistics, Fall 1968 and HEW statistics, Fall 1970.)

[3] *Alexander* v. *Holmes County Board of Education,* 396 U.S. 19 (1969).

Constitution requires. In my opinion there is no reason why such a wholesale deprivation of constitutional rights should be tolerated another minute.

Following the *Alexander* decision, Alachua and about 15 other district desegregation cases were heard in December 1969 *en banc* by the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit because of similarities in law and of fact.[4] The court of appeals ruled in part that a two-step merger plan would be implemented; one step, including merger of faculties and staff, transportation, services, athletics, and extracurricular activities was to be completed by February 1, 1970; the other step, including student body merger, was to be accomplished by the fall term of 1970.

In complying with *Alexander* and the interpretation of *Alexander* made by the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals, the Federal district judge, David L. Middlebrooks, Jr., on December 19, 1969 ordered the two-step plan into effect. The additional time granted permitted planning and consultation for arrangement of student transfers with the University of Miami Desegregation Center.[5]

The Supreme Court of the United States granted *certiorari* in *Carter et al.* v. *West Feliciana School Board et al.*[6] This appeal challenged the delay granted by the court of appeals of student desegregation until September 1970. In a *per curiam* decision, the Supreme Court held:

> Insofar as the Court of Appeals authorized deferral of student desegregation beyond February 1, 1970, that court misconstrued our holding in *Alexander* v. *Holmes County Board of Education.*

The Court accordingly reversed the court of appeals decision delaying student desegregation until September 1970.

Judge Middlebrooks also stipulated the establishment of a biracial committee of 10 members, five of whom were to be black and five white. The chairman of the committee was to be alternately a black and a white member.[7]

The biracial committee was to function as an aid to the school board in reviewing school site selection, zoning, and student assignments to assure that a unitary system resulted.[8]

W. S. Talbot, Superintendent of Alachua County Schools at that time, felt that desegregation of certain schools would result in resegregation because of white flight, and initially refused to provide the committee with copies of the desegregation plans prepared by the school board. After he released them to the committee, it was found that desegregation had been planned only for schools in the eastern section of the city where the majority of blacks lived. As one committee representative stated: "No integration to speak of was planned for the right, white side of town." [9]

One of the biracial committee members held a meeting with the white community affected by the desegregation plans at which more than 700 parents were in attendance. After the school board plan had been explained, the people who lived on the east side became upset, protesting that the "east side was not under court order, but rather all of Alachua County was under court order." [10]

The committee decided upon a 70–30 white to black racial distribution throughout the county and devised a plan to make it workable, including clustering in four quadrants of Alachua County, zoning, and cross-busing. The school board refused to accept the plan or forward it to Judge Middlebrook for consideration, and the committee finally did so itself. The resultant effect was an order from Judge Middlebrook to cluster

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[4] *Singleton* v. *Jackson Municipal Separate School District* in which *Wright et al.* v. *Board of Public Instruction of Alachua County, Florida et al.* was consolidated, 419 F.2d 1211.

[5] The Desegregation Center at the University of Miami is funded under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Division of Equal Educational Opportunity.

[6] Certiorari granted in *Carter et al.* v. *West Feliciana Parish School Board* et al. 396 U.S. 290 (1970). Together with No. 972, *Singleton* et al. v. *Jackson Municipal Separate School District* et al., also on petition for writ of certiorari to the same court.

[7] Charles Chestnut, a black mortician, was chairman of the committee in 1970–71 and in 1971–72 Mrs. Frances G. Lundsford, a white assistant principal of an elementary school, became chairman of the committee. In 1971–72 two vacancies existed on the committee, one each for a black and a white member. As yet they have not been filled.

[8] A biracial committee member stated that the board as a whole was very conservative and has cooperated very reluctantly with the biracial committee. The board withheld support from W. S. Talbot, former superintendent when he presented the 1969 Foster plan to the biracial committee and the public. The plan provided for clustering [pairing] of schools primarily in a section having the largest number of blacks.

[9] Interview with Hebron Self, member, Biracial School Committee, Alachua County, Fla., May 4, 1972.

[10] *Ibid.*

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the schools in Alachua County from east to west in all quadrants of the county rather than in a particular section.

Desegregation—Current Plan

Six elementary schools were affected by the desegregation plan.[11] These schools were discontinued as kindergarten through sixth grade schools; three predominantly white and one newly constructed school were utilized as kindergarten through fourth grade schools; and two predominantly black schools were converted to 5–6 grade centers. Three elementary schools declared obsolete by the State department of education survey team were closed,[12] as was Lincoln, an all-black school serving grades 7–12. The enrollment at Lincoln was assigned to Westwood and Howard Bishop Junior High Schools (grades 7–9), Eastside and Buchholz High Schools (grades 7–11), and Gainesville Senior High School (grades 10–12).[13] A biracial committee member informed the Commission staff that, despite the committee's espousal of the 70–30 ratio and its objection to the disproportionate ratios achieved by the board's clustering plan,[14] a compromise had been reached and the committee agreed to a 5 percent variance.

[11] See the following table:

Schools	1968		1970	
	Black	White	Black	White
Littlewood	0	1,067	289	501
Terwilliger	not constructed		215	547
Williams	736	2	256	397
Duval	673	0	194	279
Metcalfe	25	901	171	430
Foster	41	786	237	457

[12] These schools were Alachua Elementary School, a predominantly white school, Archer Elementary, an all-white school, and Douglass Elementary, an all-black school. *County Public Schools: A Report to the Superintendent and School Board by the Florida Desegregation Consulting Center*. April 1969.

[13] See the following table:

Schools	1968		1970	
	Black	White	Black	White
Westwood	42	1,356	197	844
Howard Bishop	272	1,175	336	832
Eastside	not constructed		562	536
Buchholz	not constructed		207	969
Gainsville	145	2,156	717	1,862

[14] As a result of the clustering plan, Eastside was more than 50 percent black, Buchholz was 18 percent black, Westwood was 22 percent black, and Howard Bishop was 39 percent black.

Two black schools that had been closed were utilized as student and teacher centers. A. Quinn Jones Elementary School became an elementary reading and resource center providing the most up-to-date techniques, equipment, and supplies to promote better reading ability. But as the school remained all-black, it was ordered closed and the children sent to schools within their attendance zones. Lincoln, the all-black junior-senior high, was leased to Santa Fe Junior College for vocational and technical instruction for students throughout Alachua who were bused to the school during their vocational education period. The court found this method of training ineffective and ordered a more productive use of the facility. In the fall of 1972–73 Lincoln was to reopen as the Lincoln Center for Human and Mechanical Arts with an extensive vocational-technical curriculum.

In the opinion of one community leader, Lincoln was not in the original desegregation efforts because the former superintendent had committed himself to closing black schools rather than sending white students to them. He also favored the construction of a new facility rather than converting Lincoln into a vocational school.[15]

Transportation

Prior to total desegregation in 1970, about 9,358 students were bused in Alachua County.[16] All of these students lived beyond the 2-mile distance that qualifies students to be bused in accordance with standards set by the State. The longest ride was approximately 29 miles and took about 1 hour and 15 minutes.[17] The average ride took about 65 minutes and the average distance bused was 14.5 [18] miles. After schools were desegregated, 10,575 eligible students were bused an average of 16.6 miles which took about 26 minutes. The longest distance was 27.5 miles and the longest ride took one hour and twenty minutes.

There have been no major disruptions or incidents of vandalism on buses either before or after desegregation. After desegregation five requests were made and honored for transportation of ineligible students because of busy or dangerous streets. In one case, 140

[15] Interview with Charles Chestnut, Member, Biracial School Committee, Alachua County, Fla., May 4, 1972.

[16] Data prepared by Tommy Tomlinson, Associate Superintendent, Alachua County.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] This figure was based on computation of 84 buses making a total of 137 trips.

black elementary school children asked to be bused in order to avoid whites who allegedly set their dogs on them as they walked to and from school through white neighborhoods. The school board granted this request.

One administrator declared: "Desegregation has caused more busing, but formerly there were black buses and white buses, . . . buses now serve white and black students together."

White and black parents serve as bus monitors, ride to designated schools, and serve as aides, providing assistance to teachers and staff. They are paid with funds provided by the Emergency School Assistance Program.[19]

Disruptions

When desegregation was implemented in February 1970, Lincoln, the all-black high school (grades 7–12) in East Gainesville, was closed and its enrollment moved to Gainesville Senior High (10–12), Westwood, and Bishop Junior High Schools (grades 7–9), predominantly white schools in the district.[20]

An administrator noted that few racial disturbances have occurred throughout Alachua County. Most have taken place at Gainesville Senior High School. A number of older students there were unhappy because Lincoln High School, the district's black high school from which they would normally have graduated, had been closed.

A white Gainesville High School student reported that fighting erupted between militant white and black factions of the student body several times. On one occasion in the fall of 1971, he said: "A Ku Klux Klan poster with the inscription 'Niggers go home,' was tacked up in the teachers' lounge. A teacher and several students were badly beaten in the ensuing melee. Police arrived on campus and arrested one white student. One black student was expelled, and Gainesville High was closed for several days." He also observed that despite the tension, the school holds interracial dances where a black band plays both white and soul music. A student biracial committee and a black student union have been organized. One student commented: "Although people were edgy this year [1971] things are better now."

A former administrator of Gainesville High recounted that in 1970 there had been 32 policemen at the prom to maintain order. In 1971 there were only two and this year none was required. He is convinced "that the key to successful desegregation is objectivity and fair leadership on the part of school authorities. There must be flexibility and it is crucial that black students be treated equally, particularly in disciplinary matters."

Discipline

After the disturbances at Gainesville High, administrators doubted their ability to handle such problems and instituted a public security program and a social adjustment program. Teachers now receive regular instruction in the control of students during a disorder or disruption.

A social adjustment program was initiated at Mountain Top School in the fall of 1970 with one classroom for high school students. Mountain Top has two categories of students in attendance: "Students from the juvenile shelter and students referred by [their regular school principals]. Referral students are accepted from grades 6–12. They come for 30 to 60 days on formal assignment as an alternative to suspension or expulsion." [21]

A black parent observed that it is a school "primarily for social adjustment, and to look at it, blacks need more social adjustment than whites." He added that "punishment of the black student is often severe and unwarranted." [22]

The average time spent at Mountain Top by 109 students sent there in 1970–71 was 34 days. Accord-

[19] The Emergency School Assistance Program (ESAP) is a Federal program to aid local education agencies in bringing about racial desegregation of their public school systems.

[20] See following table:

Schools	1968–69		1970–71	
	Black	White	Black	White
Lincoln	1,505	0	Closed	
Gainesville High	145	2,156	717	1,862
Westwood Jr. High	42	1,356	197	844
Howard Bishop Jr. High	272	1,175	336	832

Note: HEW statistics, Fall 1968 and Fall 1970.

[21] Russell W. Ramsey, Ph. D., Social Adjustment Education in the Alachua County, Fla., Public Schools, February 1972.

[22] Charles Chestnut, Member, Biracial School Committee, Alachua County, Fla., May 4, 1972.

ing to a school administrator, in that year 70 percent of the students

> went directly back to their regular schools and finished the year even though some were beyond the age of compulsory attendance: 10 percent went to reform schools and then back to school; 10 percent went to reform schools, were overage (upon release from reform schools), and dropped out or went to work; the remaining 10 percent (could be) classified as losers who went to training school, ran away, roamed the streets, ended up in the hospital for drug-related problems, or in other ways joined the counter-culture.[23]

White Flight

The superintendent stated that "some white flight has occurred although the majority of whites accept integrated schools in the county." He added that "two schools, Mebane Middle School and Archer Community School, which were 30 percent white and 70 percent black, now have 50–50 enrollments. Both schools are located in rural areas" and he feels that they "exemplify white flight in reverse." Eastside High School has a similar enrollment pattern.[24]

A guidance counselor at Mebane said that some of the approximately 40 students who left the Mebane Middle School area [25] have returned, apparently "because Mebane is considered an innovative school with . . . team teaching, flexible scheduling,[26] and individualized instruction."

The assistant superintendent reported that about "1,000 whites left the system [when desegregation was decreed], but most whites today do not want to go back to the dual system of the past."

An administrator informed a Commission staff interviewer that a private school, Rolling Hills, was built when desegregation was announced. This is the school to which the county lost many of its students. It is reported to be in financial difficulty and is expected to close shortly.

Attitudes

In 1970 Alachua received $56,500 in funds under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and $40,000 in 1971 to conduct human relations workshops [27] as a means of counteracting prejudicial attitudes of teachers and administrators. Although in most cases teachers seemed to benefit from the sessions, a member of the biracial committee alleged that some of the faculty is still very prejudiced. "Some teachers seat blacks in corners by themselves or stand them outside the room by the door and forget about them." He added that: "White students who misbehave are given punishment assignments such as raking leaves, but their offense is not recorded. Black students, by contrast, are sent to the principal's office where a record of their offense is made." On one occasion, a community leader recalled: "A white teacher seated all the white children around her and the black students were seated at a table by themselves.

"Smaller children may be damaged by desegregation," he added, "because they can feel the animosity but cannot understand where it is coming from and why it is directed at them. The older children deal with it as it occurs."

One teacher in an elementary school has purchased teaching sets with interracial themes that show different skin colors and eye colors. Through these aids she tries "to make the children aware of differences

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[23] Interview with Dr. Russell Ramsey, Director of Mountain Top School, Alachua County School District, May 4, 1972.

[24] See following table:

Schools	1968–69		1970–71	
	Black	White	Black	White
Mebane Middle School	1,316	0	280	199
Archer Community School	242	0	219	154
Eastside High School	not constructed		562	536

Note: HEW statistics, Fall 1968 and 1970.

[25] Mebane is located in Alachua Township, a small community of 1,500 residents outside Gainesville. In 1971–72 the student enrollment was 518—52 percent white and 48 percent black.

[26] Flexible scheduling involves adapting a student's schedule to permit shorter or more lengthy class periods for given courses in order (a) to permit additional time and emphasis on a student's weak areas and less time on mastered areas or (b) to permit coverage of material better presented in a longer scheduled period than is normally provided. Time taken from another course can be made up on another date.

[27] HEW Division of Equal Educational Opportunities Fiscal Years 1965–71 Lists of Projects Funded: University Desegregation Consultative Centers, University Institute Projects, and Local Education Agencies. Section 405 of Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provides in part: (a) The Commissioner is authorized, upon application of a school board, to make grants to such board to pay, in whole or in part, the cost of: (1) giving to teachers and other school personnel inservice training in dealing with problems incident to desegregation, and (2) employing specialists to advise in problems incident to desegregation.

without overemphasis. Children are [also] taught to be kind with words. Certain words are outlawed in [her] classroom."

A guidance counselor felt that "whites in Alachua now accept integration and are beginning to agree with me that the old dual school system was an error and a 'stone around our necks.' Besides that, it was expensive."

A black student discussed the reticence of some of her classmates to mix with students of other races. "Desegregation should begin in the home so that when a child goes out of the home there would be no problems. There might be a desire to . . . know students of other races, but the group pressures are too great. Some students from racist homes can come to school and mix, but when they go home they have to show another face."

A black student experiencing desegregation for the first time, stated: "Integration gives us a better chance to understand each other. Whites are just like anybody else."

An elementary school teacher remarked about younger students: "The kids are just children. They seem to get along quite well and help each other out. Children adjust better than adults. If the grown-ups would leave them alone, they'd adjust."

PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN ESCAMBIA COUNTY, FLA.

Background

Escambia County, encompassing 721 square miles, is situated at the extreme western end of the Florida Panhandle. It is bordered on the north and west by Alabama and on the south by the Gulf of Mexico. Most of the population of 205,388 resides in or near Pensacola, the county seat and a well known seaport in the southern half of the county. A major U.S. Naval Air Station is located there. Industries in the county include fishing, shipping, wood processing, naval stores, and canning. Estimated mean family income is $7,946.[1]

In the past 2 years Escambia County has exceeded the national average in rate of population growth and this trend is expected to continue in the next 10 years.[2] While the county's school population has also grown, the rate of growth appears to have decreased markedly over the last 4 years.[3] In the 1971–72 school year, there were 47,021 students in Escambia County schools, of whom 13,372 or 28 percent were black.

Despite the presence of the U.S. Naval Air Station, which entitled the Escambia School System to $650,939 in Impact Aid in 1971–72, the system appears to have financial problems.[4] Per pupil expenditures, excluding capital outlays, averaged $730 in 1970–71. Escambia pays its beginning teachers salaries lower than those offered by surrounding counties or by the majority of counties in the State.[5] Neither operating levies nor bond issues has been approved by the local electorate in the last 5 or 6 years.[6]

[1] Income statistics provided by Escambia County Chamber of Commerce.

[2] PCA 1064, U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Florida, Pensacola Division, Apr. 21, 1969.

[3] Between 1961–68, the school enrollment increased from 39,000 to 46,000 students. From 1968–72, the enrollment has grown by roughly 1,000 pupils.

[4] Impact Aid is Federal assistance given to local educational agencies upon which the United States has placed financial burdens.

[5] *Augustus* v. *Escambia County*, PCA 1064, Apr. 21, 1969.

[6] J. Edwin Holsberry, a local attorney, recently stated that an estimated $13 million for new construction was needed for the desegregated school system. A bond issue to provide these funds was rejected June 1, 1971 by the voters.

History of Desegregation in Escambia County

Desegregation litigation in Escambia County began on February 1, 1960, when a suit was filed to enjoin the Escambia County School Board from maintaining racially segregated schools and from employing school personnel on the basis of race.[7] On March 17, 1960, the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Florida ruled for the plaintiffs and ordered the school board to develop a desegregation plan that would allow the plaintiffs and all black children to apply for admission or transfer to any school for which they were otherwise eligible. The board then developed a plan, unsatisfactory to plaintiffs, but approved by the district court on September 8, 1961.

Upon the plaintiff's appeal the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit reversed the district court and ordered it to modify the board's desegregation plan to ensure that the dual system be abolished, with desegregation of the first two grades by the 1963 fall term and desegregation of at least one additional grade each year thereafter.

Following the filing of a report by the school board in December 1965, which indicated that 50 of the board's 72 schools remained completely segregated, the plaintiffs on March 31, 1966 filed with the district court a motion for further relief. The plaintiffs now urged the development and implementation of a plan conforming to the March 1966 Guidelines as developed by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. (HEW) [8]

In response to the plaintiff's motion, the district court on April 14, 1967 ordered a freedom-of-choice plan to conform with the Fifth Circuit Court's decree

[7] *Augustus* v. *The Board of Public Instruction of Escambia.* In 1960 the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund brought a school desegregation suit against the Escambia County Board of Public Instruction. The board of public instruction is the policy-making body for the school system. It is composed of five men, all white. There has never been a black member of the school board.

[8] *Revised Statement of Policies for School Desegregation Plans* under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

in *United States* v. *Jefferson County Board of Education.*[9]

In light of the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Green* v. *County School Board of New Kent County,* which ruled that a freedom-of-choice plan is acceptable only if it accomplishes elimination of the dual school system, the district court on January 23, 1969 ruled, therefore, that the existing freedom-of-choice plan was no longer acceptable. On April 21, 1969, the court finally approved and ordered implementation of a new plan submitted by the Escambia County School Board.

The Current Desegregation Plan

The new desegregation plan devised by the board and approved by the court utilized the techniques of geographic zoning, pairing,[10] school closings, and grade restructuring within the framework of the neighborhood school concept. Eight inner-city elementary schools in Pensacola were paired with one another, and three other formerly black elementary schools[11] were closed. The racial composition of these eight schools, as projected by the school board, was majority black. The outlying elementary schools which ring the city were projected as predominantly white.

Grade restructuring led to the creation of middle schools. Two formerly black schools, Ransom (grades 1–12) and Wedgewood (grades 7–12) were restructured to serve grades 6–8. Clubbs and Blount were zoned to be majority black middle schools.[12]

Geographic zoning was used to alter the 63 percent black enrollment at the two inner-city high schools, Pensacola and Washington.

The enrollments of these two schools were projected as 2,151 whites and 1,098 blacks at Pensacola and 1,540 whites and 976 blacks at Washington.

The plan provided that existing and newly employed faculty personnel be assigned so that each school's faculty was approximately 75 percent white and 25 percent black. A majority-minority transfer policy was adopted, enabling students of the majority race in any school to transfer to any school in the county where their race was a minority similar to the average percentages of minority students in all county schools.

The board was ordered to devise a transportation system which integrated the buses. The school system was further ordered by the court to locate all new schools with a view to eradication of all vestiges of the dual school system.

Effects of Plan

Some schools were substantially affected by the desegregation plan while others were virtually untouched. Since 1969, many changes in residential patterns have resulted in continued racial isolation, especially in the elementary schools.[13] In the 1971–72 school year, 7,572 out of a total of 12,974 black students (59 percent) attended schools where their race constituted 52 percent or more of the enrollment.

The court order declared:

> . . . there will be some 20–21 schools in which there is little or no integration which gives concern. But it appears, and the Court finds, that this results from population location and from natural and geographic, rather than historical boundaries.[14]

The court refused to order busing to remedy the situation in these 20 schools on the grounds that the school district was in an "economic strait jacket." The court added, however, that "this is not to say it [the plan] has the stamp of finality upon it—it may need further examination and rearrangement from time to time."

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[9] 380 F. 2d 385 (1967).

[10] See footnote 2, at i. The eight paired elementary schools are as follows: (Spencer Bibbs-McMillian) (Brown Barge-Semmes) (Dixon-Yniestra) (Gibson-Hallmark).

[11] The three schools closed were: Judy Andrews, Kirksey, and Pickens.

[12] The projected enrollments for these schools were as follows: Clubbs: 300 white and 599 black; Blount: 164 white and 551 black.

[13] The projected enrollments for six schools in the 1969–70 chool year are compared with the actua\ 1971–72 enrollments in the following table:

School	1969–70 projection		1971–72 enrollment	
	Black	White	Black	White
Olive Elementary	526	241	775	165
P. K. Yonge Elementary	578	78	251	25
Dixon Paired	700	452	524	255
Yniestra Elementary				
Clubbs Junior High	599	300	550	208
Washington High School	976	1, 540	990	926

[14] *Augustus* v. *The Board of Public Instruction of Escambia County, Fla.* Apr. 21, 1969.

Transportation

The board's transportation program, now in effect for 2 years, provides that all pupils who live at least 1 mile from the nearest elementary school, 1½ miles from a middle school, and 2 miles from a high school, and pupils who are physically handicapped, are eligible for transportation. A principal may allow an unfilled bus to carry students who live farthest away from school but reside in nontransport zones.

The number of students transported has gradually increased during the past 4 school years.[15] One school official said that the growing number of transported pupils indicates both that increasing numbers of students are eligible for transportation and that parents appear to want their children bused to school.

Approximately 2,500 ineligible students were bused in the 1971–72 school year. These are students for whom the State did not reimburse the local system for the cost of transportation.

Although many parents in Escambia County may want their children transported to school, they voted in the 1972 State referendum to oppose the use of busing for the purpose of desegregating schools.[16] In March 1972, the Escambia School Board passed a resolution supporting a constitutional amendment to ban the use of busing as a technique for school desegregation. But the county's vote did not agree with the board's.

Reaction to Desegregation Plan

After so many years of litigation, the reaction to the 1969 desegregation plan was generally one of resigned acceptance.[17] There was no public opposition to the plan from civic leaders, public figures, ministers, or the news media.

[15] Statistics provided by Assistant Superintendent Thomas LeMaster, May 1, 1972, in interview with Commission Staff.

School year	Total transported	Transported 2 miles or more
1968–69	21, 083	18, 737
1969–70	24, 759	21, 172
1970–71	25, 947	32, 661
1971–72	26, 471	20, 966

[16] The question asked in the March 14, 1972 primary was: "Do you favor an amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would probihit forced busing and guarantee the right of each student to attend an appropriate public school nearest his home?" 36,737 Escambia citizens voted "yes" and 12,056 voted "no." However, the majority of the county favored a statement calling for equal opportunity for quality education for all children regardless of race, creed, color, or place of residence and opposed a return to a dual public school system, vote 33,337–10,314.

White Flight

Several school officials interviewed by Commission staff said that some opposition took the form of "flight" either from public to private schools or to "safer" neighborhoods where the white majority enrollment was more "favorable".

Such flight was possible under a plan which provided that some schools would be significantly more integrated than others. Although they were unable to provide statistics regarding the number of students who left the public schools in order to avoid desegregation, Escambia school officials believed the number to be small.

Some students who left have since returned to county schools. One school official cited two possible explanations for their return: (1) the realization that chaos and race riots would not inevitably follow desegregation, and (2) the high cost of private education.

Attempts to Ease Adjustment of Students to the Integrated Schools

In some instances, parents anxious for the desegregation transition to proceed smoothly organized biracial committees as at Booker T. Washington Senior High School. This is the formerly black high school whose black principal continued in his post following implementation of the 1969 plan.

Under the plan, the affluent and influential white Cordova Park section on the eastern side of Pensacola was to be included in the Washington attendance zone. Washington's enrollment had accordingly been projected at 1,540 white and 976 black.

Immediately after final court approval of the board's desegregation plan in the spring of 1969, Washington High's black principal and a few prominent leaders of the Cordova Park community met to discuss various means to implement the plan. A biracial Parents' Advisory Committee evolved from these conversations. This committee of influential citizens, acting as a liaison group, explained the feasibility of integration to fearful parents and focused attention on the need to improve Washington's long neglected facilities.

[17] The 1969 court order has not yet been brought up to date to conform to the most recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court in *Swann* v. *Charlotte-Mecklenburg*.

According to a white assistant principal at Washington who still serves on the committee: "We were just as determined that integration would work as others were sure that the lid would blow sky high." The committee succeeded in getting roads paved in front of the school, traffic lights installed in the immediate neighborhood, and adequate equipment and materials provided for classrooms. The school board was persuaded to provide approximately $60,000 in repairs.

Student biracial committees were organized in almost all of the high schools. Student cooperation often transcended the work of special committees. The 1971–72 senior class at Washington, the first integrated class about to graduate after 3 years together, became indirectly involved in an interracial fight between two male students, both of whom were suspended by the principal. Rumors spread rapidly in the black community that only the black student had been suspended. Outsiders appeared on the scene, reportedly eager to start a disruption. One black male student commented later that: "Some of the militants do not really want to see integration work." At this point senior class leaders followed by virtually the entire class requested a meeting in order to clear the air. The meeting took place, the rumors were quashed, and the disruptive elements were pacified. Washington's principal credited the intelligence and maturity of the senior class as a whole with having averted hostilities.

The school superintendent felt that "the Ministerial Alliance was probably the most recognizable positive force in the community following the 1969 court ruling." Its members urged their congregations "to obey the law in a spirit of goodwill."

Disruptions and Violence

Several Escambia County school officials cautioned that, in assessing the extent of racial violence in the schools, one should not assume that all interracial fights are necessarily racially motivated. They insisted that there are normal adolescent differences which can lead to clashes between black and white, as well as black against black or white against white. A small number of apparently racially motivated fights had been reported. Several school administrators felt that outside forces often influence the students involved in such incidents.

The most serious student disruption, according to several teachers, occurred at Woodham High School in March 1972. A fight between two male students, one black and one white, quickly grew into a melee involving about 100 students. Irate white parents stormed the school, denouncing the principal, and calling for the expulsion of the black students. After a meeting of black and white parents, policemen were stationed on the school grounds for the remainder of the school year. An explanation of the disturbance, which some teachers said had been "blown way out of proportion", was offered by an assistant principal who said:

> There should have been some provisional inclusion or representation of black students in various activities when the large influx of blacks enrolled at Woodham in 1969. The black class and club officers from Wedgewood should have had a continuing role to play at Woodham. This perhaps would have provided for greater identification of black students with their new school in the first year of desegregation. Upon that basis better communication could have developed in that and succeeding years.

Few incidents on school buses have been reported. According to the transportation route supervisor, incidents or fights average one per week or one every 4,560 bus trips, and the majority of them does not appear to be racially motivated. One bus driver commented: "I try to be alert to the possibility of disruptions without overreacting to harmless horseplay."

Displacement of black faculty and supervisors has caused concern in Escambia County. The court order provides that:

> Teachers and other professional staff members may not be discriminatorily assigned, dismissed, demoted or passed over for retention, promotion or rehiring on the ground of race or color. In any instance where one or more teachers or other professional staff members are to be displaced as a result of desegregation, no staff vacancy in the school system shall be filed through recruitment from outside the school system unless no staff member is qualified to fill the vacancy.

One black resident expressed alarm at the number of black teachers allegedly demoted or fired in the school system.

After acknowledging that an exact count of dismissed teachers is difficult to provide, a staff member of the Race Relations Information Center, using information provided by the Florida Education Association, stated in a *Special Report of the Race Relations Information Center* that from 1967–70, 86 black teachers had lost their positions in Escambia County.[18]

[18] "Displacement of Black Teachers in the Eleven Southern States." *Race Relations Information Center Special Report,* by Robert W. Hooker, December 1970. In 1969 there was a teachers' strike throughout the State of Florida.

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Statistics obtained from HEW School System Summary Reports for the past 4 school years do not appear to substantiate the charge that black teachers have been demoted or fired in the wake of desegregation, as far as the total number of black teachers in the Escambia County School System is concerned. That number has slowly risen from 471 in the 1968–69 school year to a current 497. HEW statistics also indicate, however, that since 1968, the percentage of black teachers in the system has dipped slightly from 22.9 percent in 1968 to 21.9 percent in 1972.

The diminishing number of black principals in the school system following the plan's implementation in 1969 has been another source of concern to some observers. According to information provided the Commission by school officials, 16 black principals were in the system during the 1968–69 school year, of whom only nine remain. Two black principals have retired and two are deceased.[19] Other black residents are disturbed that no blacks serve on the elected five-member board of education and that few blacks hold administrative positions at the Escambia County School Administrative Office. One black supervisor stated that: "To bring about more changes we are going to need more people [black] at the central office, because they do the hiring. Usually, when a black teacher retires or withdraws, the position is filled by a white teacher."

Blacks are somewhat better represented in deanships and other supervisory positions in a number of schools. Black teachers with experience in both the present school system and the segregated system noted a vast improvement in some facilities following desegregation. Prior to 1969, said one, requests for funds and equipment at black schools went virtually unheeded. The school's curriculum was limited to basic courses and included no foreign language instruction. Another administrator recalled the difficulty of procuring needed repairs and administrative assistance before white children were assigned to the school. Several black high school students also remembered the contrast and expressed bitterness at the "double standard" which had existed under the dual school system.

Finally, some Pensacola residents expressed fear that the new schools might be located without regard to desegregation guidelines provided by the court's 1969 ruling. They specifically referred to the building of a new high school in the predominantly white west side of Pensacola.

[19] The school board did not account for the three other principals who no longer serve in those positions in the county.

Three schools in Escambia County drew widespread praise for the determination and skill with which they moved toward complete integration. Washington High School, which now has a majority black enrollment, was credited with strong and fair leadership, active and influential parental support, and general good relationships among students. Washington's principal and staff were often singled out for their enormous contribution to the peaceful transition at the school. Teachers and club advisors at Washington were urged to include members of both races in all organizations and activities at both the leadership and membership levels. Washington High School also enjoyed the support of a strong interracial advisory committee of parents which has reportedly generated an inestimable amount of good will in recent years. Finally, Washington has been blessed with what the principal described as "extremely mature and intelligent students."

Ransom Middle School, located in Cantonment, Florida, approximately 15 miles north of downtown Pensacola, is a formerly black union (grades 1–12) school. Ransom's enrollment in the 1971–72 school year was made up of 597 whites and 226 blacks. There, too, the teachers and students pointed to the high calibre of the school's leadership, the easy relationships which exist among parents, faculty, and students, and rewarding innovations in the educational program.

When the plan was implemented at Ransom some tension was obvious in both black and white communities. According to the principal, some black parents felt the school had been taken over by whites, and white parents did not want their children in the school because it had been a black school. He felt, however, that the mood today is one of cooperation. A teacher in another school said that "the Ransom administrative team has been successful in preventing racial clashes and establishing communication among parents because it has tried to be fair and consistent with everyone. Ransom has had well-integrated athletic teams, cheerleading squads, and elected student representatives. An interracial boosters group was recently formed by parents. One sign of the school's apparent success is the return of some 42 students from the Pensacola Christian Academy [segregated private school] in the last 2 years." One administrator says: "Parents call and ask about boundary lines so their child can attend Ransom."

The paired Hallmark school which serves grades K–3 is a third school drawing favorable community

comment. Hallmark, an unconventionally structured inner-city school receiving aid under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, has an enrollment which is 67 percent black. At one time, it was one of Pensacola's most prestigious schools; now 80 percent of its students are eligible for a free lunch program.

According to the principal, the school operates on the rationale that "when students do not respond, the teacher's approach must be wrong. The conventional level structure was substituted for the conventional grade structure and report cards were eliminated." The curriculum specialist stated that studies indicate clearly that the students' self-images have improved greatly. A black minister, whose own children attend Hallmark, declared that he is a staunch believer in its program. In support of its open classrooms and learning center programs, it has received funds under Title I of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in the 1971–72 school year.

Although these three schools appear to stand out in the eyes of many Pensacola residents, desegregation has proceeded quietly and without incident in most other schools in the county. According to the assistant principal at Tate High School in Gonzalez, Florida, desegregation has gone forward without major difficulty, and both black and white communities have apparently been pleased with the outcome.

PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN EVANSTON, ILL.

Evanston is an affluent suburb northeast of Chicago on the southwestern shore of Lake Michigan. Its population of approximately 79,808 persons is 16 percent black. Evanston contains diverse racial and ethnic groups because it is the site of several foreign consulates and the home of Northwestern University, a focal point for many foreign students and faculty. Evanston's lake front homes are old palatial mansions now somewhat crowded together because of additional building on estates.

The community is conservative on the whole, but a liberal segment is influential and vocal. Evanston's population is well-educated and, according to the 1970 census, enjoys a relatively high median family income: $13,932 in 1969. Black families in Evanston, taken alone, had a median family income of $9,671 in that year. The 1970 census reports that the median value of owner-occupied homes in the city was more than $33,000 in 1969.

According to a school official, the black middle class "has higher home ownership than in most areas and many [of its members] hold two jobs." The established black community is well-settled and dates back to the latter half of the 19th century when Evanston was the end of the line for the Underground Railroad. The major influx of blacks to Evanston came in the 1920's during the city's greatest period of growth. It came mainly in response to the demand for domestic workers among the North Shore communities.

History of Desegregation in Evanston, Ill.

Evanston has two independent, tax-supported school districts with two separate boards of education. Consolidation has been proposed several times without result.

District 65 today consists of 16 elementary and four middle schools. The elementary schools serve grades K–5 and have a total enrollment of 6,533, of which 25 percent is black. The four middle schools serve grades 6–8 and have a total enrollment of 3,311 students, of whom 27 percent are black.[1] District 202 has only one school, Evanston Township High School, which serves all of the graduates from District 65 middle schools. In 1971–72 Evanston Township had a total enrollment of 5,009 students,[2] 26 percent of whom were black.

By 1963 a triangular central section of Evanston was becoming heavily black, and this was reflected in the all-black enrollment of the inner-city Foster School (K–8). The school district implemented a voluntary transfer plan that desegregated most of the schools along the lake front in the east, the far south, and the extreme west. These schools had been all-white prior to 1963.[3] Foster, however, remained almost all-black (99 percent) and another elementary school, Dewey, became 66 percent black.

In 1964, in the face of some pressure from the local NAACP and Urban League, the school board decided to eliminate segregation completely because of its stultifying effects on all children.[4] As a first step in eliminating segregation, District 65's School Board selected a Citizens Advisory Committee in December 1964.[5] The function of the committee was to devise a plan—for submission to the school board within a 1-year period—proposing a workable method for implementing desegregation. In order to facilitate the effort, the board allocated $5,000 for computer expert time to determine the distribution of students within walking distance of schools, insuring proportionate numbers of black and white students for future school assignments.

The completed plan called for the assignment of central city black students to white schools with small

[1] Enrollment facts from data analysis of Feb. 11, 1972, as prepared by Robert L. Dawkins, Pupil Services Department, Evanston School District 65.

[2] Statistical Summary 1971–72, Evanston Township High School, District 202.

[3] The majority of schools were all-white by virtue of neighborhood school zoning. All of the black population resided in the central section of the city. This segregated pattern was protected by Realtors and by disparate income levels of blacks and whites.

[4] Coffin, Gregory, "How Evanston, Illinois Integrated All of its Schools," a paper prepared for the November 1967 National Conference on Race and Education sponsored by the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

[5] The 18-member committee included the superintendent, one assistant superintendent, two principals, and representatives from diverse segments of the community.

black enrollments. Only 450 of approximately 2,300 black students were not within walking distance of the schools. The 450 students were grouped according to neighborhood rather than grade and assigned to five outlying areas to which they were to be bused.

The plan also called for the redistricting of all middle schools to ensure proportionate black enrollment. Upon plan implementation, the schools would be fully desegregated, with a range of between 17 and 25 percent black enrollment.

Dr. Gregory Coffin was appointed superintendent of District 65 in 1967, following the retirement of the former superintendent, Dr. Oscar M. Chute. Under Dr. Coffin, the desegregation plan for elementary and middle schools was implemented.

Evanston residents interviewed by Commission staff generally credited Dr. Coffin with a strong moral commitment to integration, indicating that his administration moved boldly and without delay to achieve complete desegregation.

Some observers today feel that the former superintendent had been somewhat abrasive. Further, he reportedly often bypassed the board in making decisions. The black community generally respected him, although some of its members resented the fact that he instituted a one-way busing program (blacks were bused to outlying white schools) even though he was merely implementing the plan created by the citizens advisory committee.

In describing Dr. Coffin, one administrator commented that he was "a hard-headed, down-to-earth person with a common touch [who] lived by his convictions." Under his leadership substantial numbers of black faculty and administrators were employed.

Another administrator stated: "Only a Greg Coffin could have implemented the desegregation plan. . . . Since his departure Evanston has not moved, but has become enmeshed in procrastination." [6]

Implementation of the Current Plan

In 1965 the plan prepared by the citizens advisory committee was submitted to the board and accepted, but controversy surrounded that part of the plan proposing one-way busing of black children to outlying white schools. At a meeting called by the board and attended by more than 800 persons, a motion for a referendum on the whole issue of desegregation was defeated in favor of another motion introduced by a school board member which provided for polling the parents of black students who were to be bused to determine whether they would agree to one-way busing.

In preparation for this survey, 50 persons, 40 of whom were black, were selected for instruction at a special workshop in survey techniques. Black clergymen [7] and the leaders of 40 different black organizations were contacted concerning the survey and its purpose and asked to familiarize the black community with the survey's objectives.[8] Parents and guardians of the black students to be bused were called for interview appointments and when they could not be reached, surveyors went to their homes without prior contact. Two and sometimes three efforts were reportedly made to reach some parents. The perseverance of the surveyors paid off when the response proved to be 93 percent favorable to the one-way busing. The school board was satisfied with the poll response and allocated $38,000 of its $10 million budget for transportation.

In accordance with the citizens advisory committee's recommendations, the middle schools were desegregated. Foster, the all-black K–8 school, became a kindergarten experimental education center in the 1966–67 school year. The school then became known as the District 65 Laboratory School. In 1969 the board renamed the facility the Martin Luther King, Jr. Laboratory School.[9] The laboratory school was limited to the kindergarten level because of the experimental techniques to be implemented. Enrollment at the school was voluntary: 900 students applied and 25 percent of the 600 accepted were black. Parents of accepted children were promised that other children in the same families would be permitted to attend in subsequent years. The children who were to attend the school had differing achievement levels and came from neighborhoods throughout the school district. Those requiring transportation were bused at a cost of $50 per child

[6] In 1969 Dr. Coffin was discharged because of his alleged abrasiveness and his unrelenting stand on desegregation.

[7] At that time there were about 22 black churches in Evanston.

[8] The support reflected in one survey statement largely determined the decision of the board to go forward with the plan. That statement was "If the cost of integrated education is busing, then I am willing to have my child bused." Coffin, Gregory, "How Evanston, Illinois Integrated All of Its Schools," a paper prepared for a conference on Race and Education, November 1967, sponsored by the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

[9] Learning How to Learn: An Individualized Program at the Martin Luther King, Jr. Laboratory School, District 65, Evanston, Illinois.

per semester. This cost was willingly paid by parents apparently enthusiastic about the laboratory school program.

The school was operated under the aegis of Northwestern University and funded under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.[10]

The Laboratory program is nongraded with individualized instruction and freedom which permit children to move from one area of learning to another. Grouping is done according to the needs of the child, which might depend on one or several of the following factors: achievement, interest level, social adjustment, or self-concept.[11] A black parent said that students "don't feel that they are competing against each other, but are learning as much as each is capable of learning." According to a 1971 study [12] of Evanston schools which was funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, the Laboratory School does not have the highest achievement scores, but faculty and administrators comment that "children love the school," and are "also having fun while learning." One teacher at the Laboratory School summed up her enthusiasm for the learning atmosphere there, by saying: "I just love to come to work."

By the following year, 1967–68, the school had proved to be such a success that it was expanded to an elementary laboratory school, grades K–5.[13]

[10] Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provides in Section 301: "The Commissioner [of Education] shall carry out a program for making grants for supplementary education centers and services, to stipulate and assist in the provision of vitally needed educational services not available in sufficient quantity or quality, and to stimulate and assist in development and establishment of exemplary elementary and secondary school educational programs to serve as models for regular school programs." 20 U.S.C. 841 enacted Apr. 11, 1965, P.L. 89–10, Title III, Sec. 301, 79 Stat. 39.

A sum of $125,000 was allocated for the Laboratory School from Title III during its first year. Funds were cut 30 percent the next year and after 3 years (1970) they were discontinued.

[11] *Ibid.* Learning How to Learn.

[12] The Rockefeller Study was undertaken by School District 65 and the Educational Testing Service to compare achievement and attitude changes in Evanston 1967–71: A Longitudinal Evaluation, by Jojjia Hsi, Princeton, Educational Testing Service, 1971.

[13] Screening criteria have recently been initiated to curtail enrollment and to guarantee attendance of a proportionate number of boys and girls, and black and white students of differing achievement levels. In determining admission standards, consideration is given to specific needs of students, the racial distribution of students in the applicant's neighborhood, recommendations by the Laboratory School principal, and the pupil's former attendance at the Laboratory School (kindergarten program). Enrollment is kept between 600 and 625 students.

February 11, 1972, statistics indicate that the Laboratory School had 623 students in attendance. Three hundred and ninety ride the bus, and all but 52, who receive some scholarship assistance, pay $50 a semester for transportation costs.

The assistant superintendent reported that the instructional program at the Laboratory School has had a catalytic effect on the other district schools stimulating them to adopt in varying degrees such innovative techniques as team teaching, heterogeneous multiage grouping, and nongraded instruction.

Central Elementary School is located in the southeastern section of Evanston, where most of the university student population once lived. As they moved, blacks gradually replaced them, and the area has become the most integrated in Evanston, giving Central a balanced enrollment in the district, 51 percent black. Central students are bused.

Central, which had the lowest achievement level in the district according to the "Rockefeller Study," has a 300-student enrollment. The faculty of 23 is 15 percent black. The principal believes that "the disparity in black and white achievement is societal." He has seen a general increase in achievement in his school, citing an example of 24 kindergarten children who, according to the Metropolitan Readiness Test, were "high-risk" first graders. Some, though not all, of these students have begun to function well at the first grade level.

The school is a unifying factor in the community. Integrated meetings, picnics, dinners, after-school activities are well received. Popular classes in arts and crafts, yoga, and macrame are offered after school and are taught by parents who volunteer their time. There is also a day care program for children whose parents must work until 5.30 or 6 p.m. The program is supervised by two paid staff persons.

In the 1972–73 school year, Central was to become a magnet school similar in its innovative approach to the King Laboratory. The new school will be sponsored by the University of Chicago. As of May 1972 there were 40 vacancies remaining at the school, and the administrators hoped "that white parents will voluntarily choose this innovative school." The magnet school concept is being introduced by the school system to stem white flight from the Central School area.[14]

[14] See footnote 2, at i.

Student Achievement in Evanston Schools

The Evanston schools were recently examined by District 65 staff and the Educational Testing Service.[15] The study covered three academic years, during which the performance of 10, 981 students from kindergarten through the eighth grade was examined. Study results showed that black children increased their level of achievement, but did not reach national norms. There was also a decline in "positive self-concept" which some attributed to the exposure of black students to a different environment in which white students performed so well that black students felt academically dwarfed. Black children who were bused achieved at a higher level than those who attended walk-in schools.[16]

White student achievement scores remained substantially above national norms after desegregation, just as before desegregation. Of the schools examined in the study, Central Elementary School had the lowest achievement rates and Lincoln Elementary School the highest.

Transportation

When the final stages of desegregation began in 1967, about 1,960 black and white students were bused instead of the originally recommended number of 450 black students. The increase resulted from the board's decision to bus all those students, black and white, affected by redistricting, some of whom could not afford to pay the cost of public transportation.

Initially 17 buses were needed, but when it was discovered that one of the buses was all-white and one all-black, two additional buses were added to the fleet and the routes were redrawn so that all buses would be desegregated. This brought the total number of buses to 19 at a cost of $64.54 per day per bus as calculated for the year 1971–72.[17]

A contract was negotiated with the black-owned Robinson Bus Company. Some Evanston observers suggest that this contract was entered into to assuage bad feelings resulting from one-way busing.

Adult bus drivers receive in-service training in first aid and how to maintain discipline on the buses. They indicate that no unusual disciplinary problems have occurred on the buses.

Some antibusing sentiment has been expressed by several members of the black community who feel that "the desegregation plan in Evanston has been unfair because only black children have been bused." One black parent interviewed "accepts busing if both whites and blacks are bused," but would prefer to "move into a white neighborhood to avoid the busing of her children." High real-estate costs and property taxes, however, impede such a move. Another black parent who supports busing said: "I believe I represent the majority of the people around here but not everyone. I haven't heard any negative comments from parents whose kids are being bused out or from the white parents whose kids are coming in voluntarily. The total aim is education for all the children." In noting the cross-section of people in Evanston, he added: "Busing for desegregation is fine since it furthers [educational opportunity] and is workable." A white parent whose child attends the Laboratory School related: "Our neighborhood school is one block away, and we are busing 2 miles because the quality of education at the Lab School is better. Also, we feel our child will be involved with every type of individual, and that is what life is, getting along with all people and different situations." Mr. Robinson, the bus company owner, expressed the hope "that open occupancy will open up all the schools without busing." He added: "Busing in this town is running better than in most places."

White Flight

The white student population in Evanston is decreasing. Some of the decline may be attributed to factors such as birth rates, but several school officials view the decline as white flight from newly desegregated schools.

The racial composition of the area surrounding Central Elementary School, which is a K–8 school, has made the school 51 percent black. Thus, one teacher observed: "When a school becomes more than 50 percent black, white families leave." The principal of Central feels that the panic has subsided and "the community is now stable and that those whites who remain loyally support the school." Administrators in the district office are wary of the situation and, as noted earlier, have decided to convert Central to a magnet

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[15] The Educational Testing Service is a nonprofit organization devoted to research and measurement in education with funds provided by the Rockefeller Foundation.

[16] Integration in Evanston 1967–71: A Longitudinal Evaluation: A Summary of the Major Findings.

[17] Transportation information provided by School District 65.

school,[18] freezing the enrollment, as they do not wish to move students solely to achieve racial balance.

When desegregation was imminent in the Skiles area the white community reportedly became apprehensive about the possibility of physical abuse of their children, and some members of the community moved. To a limited extent "the flight is still in progress."

The problems of white flight and the loss of District 65 enrollment are on the school board agenda for resolution.[19]

Attitudes, Discipline, and Disruptions

District 65 has had few disruptions as a result of desegregation beyond the customary childish fights and tiffs, not necessarily race-related. Generally positive attitudes of students and faculty may help explain why discipline problems are minimal. When problems do arise, they are normally "handled in the classroom."

In 1967, District 65 held a summer institute for teachers in preparation for desegregation. The institute was funded under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 with a grant of $119,840, and dealt with racial prejudice as presented through diverse media such as magazine ads and television commercials. In 1968 the district received $58,096 in Title IV funds for an institute examining curricular materials for prejudicial treatment of minority racial and ethnic groups, utilizing format and materials from the previous institute. Questions for judging student self-evaluation were presented, and methods of recognizing and counteracting prejudiced attitudes among students were also taught. An effort was made to make attendance at the latter institute mandatory for principals, but the board threatened to withhold application for funds if this requirement were adopted. Some principals did attend institutes, if somewhat irregularly. Those who attended regularly generally had steadily supported the goals of desegregation.

Despite the institutes and other training sessions conducted throughout the school year, the Rockefeller Study noted prejudicial teacher attitudes. According to the study: "There were more psychological referrals for black boys, and there were more written comments of a mixed nature instead of favorable ones for black girls," after desegregation.

When teachers were asked to evaluate their desegregated classrooms, most, especially older teachers and teachers in middle schools, indicated they had feared a change in disciplinary standards. Little variance in response was noted between black and white teachers. While most teachers agreed that working relationships with black and white colleagues were excellent, black teachers cited poorer rapport with white teachers than vice versa. A white teacher observed: "The faculty mingles well now although there was some strain at first."

The majority of black parents polled for their reactions to 4 years of desegregation replied that they strongly favored the educational experience in desegregated schools. Only a handful felt their children have been inconvenienced by busing.

The principal of a middle school expressed the opinion that "racial attitudes of students are better this year than ever before. Many of our kids have helped educate their parents on racial issues." Another administrator noted: "Where there had been separatism among black and white students in the past, particularly at the middle schools, there is more integration and intermingling now."

A teacher at Skiles Middle School, which has the most modern facility, told a Commission staff interviewer that the school had "good racial interaction, though generally you will find that 80 percent of the blacks and 80 percent of the whites prefer to stay to themselves while 20 percent will intermingle. Often children who relate well during the year are negatively influenced over the summer by parents and others."

According to an administrator at Nichols Middle School: "There is peer pressure on black students not to perform. They will do anything to be part of a group. They can do well but some kid will say: 'What are you trying to do, trying to be white?' Since it is a problem, we take the student aside and talk to him privately, so that he does not equate being black with being dumb."

Several teachers expressed the opinion that "integration has to begin with younger children in order to succeed." Those who started in kindergarten under integrated conditions are doing better than those who "come in the third or fourth grade." Initially, they reported, there were problems, but now "we are getting children who have been together for 5 or 6 years. The children know each other's wants and all about each other. True solid friendships have developed between individuals of both groups. There is still some hatred

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[18] See footnote 2 at i.

[19] Between fall 1968–69 and spring 1971–72, the total elementary school enrollment has decreased from 6,916 to 6,487 students. The middle school enrollment has decreased from 3,501 to 3,311 students.

on each side, but the students are learning to deal with each other.

"I have two daughters. They accept their fellow black students as people, they are not overly bemused by them or hate or love them so much as to accept all of their faults. They are realistic. They can deal with a black-white problem."

As one white teacher said: "The kids now in the middle school will make the high school happy. We are over the tension years of initial integration."

Evanston Township High School, District 202

Evanston Township High School (ETHS) comprises School District 202 and serves all of Evanston's high school population of about 5,000 students.[20] These students are housed in four schools,[21] Beardsley, Boltwood, Bacon, and Michael, which are run semi-independently. Each hires its own staff and has its own administration but all answer to the administration of ETHS under the superintendent.

One of the leading secondary schools in the Nation,[22] its offers 360 courses and has many modern facilities such as a television studio nursery for the study of early childhood development, a planetarium, a natatorium,[23] and a greenhouse. Other resources are its language department that provides instruction in nine languages, 20 science laboratories, a computer counter, art and drama departments, and its central resource center that provides reference materials, newspapers, magazines, filmstrips, tapes, records, slides and more than 50,000 volumes.[24]

The four-in-one plan was conceived in 1956 but not fully implemented until 1967–68 when a $15 million building program expanding and renovating the facility of Evanston Township was completed. Four schools were built off an H-shaped corridor which is now used for administrative offices.

About 300 teachers are employed by this district; 92 percent have had previous teaching experience and 76 percent have master's or doctor's degrees. Nine percent are black. A high calibre staff is maintained because the school board allocates 80 percent of its $11 million budget for staff salaries. About 20 percent of the faculty participates in some form of in-service training during the summer, and all of the faculty attend a 4-day in-service program during the school year.[25]

Modular scheduling was introduced to ETHS during the 1967–68 school year. The school day is divided into 15-minute mods, with each class lasting at least two mods or 30 minutes with 5 minutes being allotted for getting from one class to another. Classes may therefore be 35, 55, 75, or 95 minutes in length. The first mod is a home room assignment called the registration period because it is during this time that attendance is taken and announcements are made. Modular scheduling was initially used for sophomores, juniors, and seniors. The first decision was to allow students to schedule their own time,[26] but the policy was changed when nonproductivity of unscheduled free time began to cause concern. A sophomore at Michael lamented: "They have given us all of the freedom, but they don't want the students to exercise it. Sometimes students just want to talk and stay in the halls to get away from the teachers and all the formality." As a result only juniors and seniors will have modular scheduling during the 1972–73 school year.

The administration found that in order to keep the students in the classrooms, disciplinary measures had to be taken, and teachers were stationed in the halls to act as monitors. The monitors are a source of irritation to the students. One student explains that "if you are in the halls during a mod period, a pass is required

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[20] Referred to as 4 in 1 plan. Racial comparability is maintained in the schools by computerized student assignment.

[21] Twenty-one percent of student enrollment is black. Between 1968–69 and 1970–71, the total enrollment at ETHS went from 5,029 to 5,150. Black enrollment increased from 847 to 750 students, white enrollment, from 4,095 to 4,250. HEW statistics Fall 1968 and Fall 1970.

Traditionally, the black students from the previously all-black Foster Elementary School (K–8) were accepted at Evanston Township High School. They were required to conform with the behavior standards set by ETHS, otherwise they were expelled.

[22] Eighty percent of its graduating class goes to college according to school administrators.

[23] Indoor swimming pool.

[24] *All About ETHS,* a pamphlet prepared by District 202 about the school district.

[25] Ibid.

[26] ". . . modular scheduling encourages a student to learn responsibility and develop his own decisionmaking abilities. When a student comes face to face with his unscheduled time each day, he has to make the decision of where and how he'll spend it within the school building. He may go to the central library, the resource center of his school, a student lounge, school cafeteria, or an open lab or classroom. This means that he can choose to 'goof off' or he can choose to apply himself. It is up to *him* to make this important decision." (no emphasis added) Flexible Modular Scheduling at ETHS, a pamphlet circulated by School District 202.

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or you are 'written up'. Five write-ups and you are sent home."

A black student commented that the curriculum, teachers, freedom of environment, and opportunity for independent study are assets to a motivated student body, but they present problems to those students who are not self-motivated in pursuit of academic goals. Some of these approaches have not helped most black students according to one staff member who noted that: "In 1971 there were 300 black seniors of whom only 57 graduated."

A 7-day suspension is automatic for vulgarity before teachers, although black teachers are allegedly more lenient in this respect than white teachers because, according to one black student, they understand that "it is a manner of expression and not intended as a form of offensive communication." She added: "White teachers are very prejudiced and want blacks to mess up. They expect blacks to act in a certain way and many black students do not disappoint them."

One staff person commented:

> School spirit has diminished at Evanston Township, because of administrative policies enforcing stricter discipline, more structured scheduling, and a general move toward traditional schooling, but these are needed because too many students, for whom adjustment has been difficult, are being lost in the school.

While the dropout rate of white students at Evanston Township is 1 percent, black students who comprise 21 percent of the student body have a 40 percent dropout rate and 10 percent absentee rate. There are currently 17 programs for poorly motivated students, yet blacks can still be found standing around in the halls during the day. This, according to a black school official, is "a sign of their apathy and disinterest."

No racial incidents have occurred since a black sit-in 4 years ago. There have been fights, but no break in communication. One white student noted "a steady decline in tension."

District 202 does not provide transportation for its students to and from school. Rather, students use public transportation, private automobiles, and other means.

Although the attitudes of the faculty have caused problems, no human relations workshops have been undertaken or are planned. One assistant superintendent doubted the value of these workshops so long as school officials had to be paid to attend them. He said: "As long as we have to pay teachers and administrators $75 a week to attend these sessions, no results will be reaped." He added that a change in attitude is anticipated eventually as "a large faculty turnover is expected around 1980."

As mentioned, peer pressure has blocked some black students from striving for academic excellence, but group counselors are attempting to counteract the effects of such pressure. All freshmen are required to attend group counseling on a weekly basis for the first semester and voluntarily thereafter. Black students have achieved well in the past and are still achieving. One of the highest scores on the National Achievement Examination was received by one of the black students at Evanston Township, according to a school administrator.

The principal of Boltwood has found a means to "expand the trust level between the staff and the students" through such efforts as a 2½-day retreat with six or seven staff members and about 20 students, and three campouts for low-motivated students. He believes these "get rid of a lot of misconceptions and students then feel that teachers are accessible."

Some members of the black community feel the present administration of Evanston Township High School is conservative, but one teacher perceived that changes have been good for the black community. Under the previous administration, black parents were made to feel uncomfortable and unwelcome at ETHS, but the present administration, according to a black teacher, is more open, has created greater black parent interaction with the school, and holds parents more accountable for the behavior and educational attainment of their children.

A black administrator stated that a "whole new socialization process is going on that didn't go on before. The black kids have to work out their identity. There are growing pains until they get their identity, then they will loosen up. Of course, white kids are going through the same struggle of how to relate. We have successful desegregation, but no integration; cultural pluralism rather than integration."

PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN HARRISBURG, PA.

Demographic Facts

Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania, is situated on the east bank of the Susquehanna River in the southeastern part of the State. It is about 100 miles west of Philadelphia and 201 miles east of Pittsburgh. The city was founded in 1710 and became the State capital in 1812 largely because its location is almost halfway between these two major cities. The State capitol building itself occupies a large area in the central city. The principal sources of employment are the State government and the railroad industry.

The total population of Harrisburg peaked in 1950 at 89,544 and since then has steadily declined [1] to its present 68,061. The black population of the city, by contrast, shows a 38 percent increase since 1960.[2] The ratio of white to black students enrolled in the schools also declined until the black student population reached 50 percent in 1968 and 61 percent in September 1971.[3] The changed proportions of white and black students enrolled in the Harrisburg schools since 1930 have complicated efforts to establish and maintain an integrated school system there.

This gradual population decline is a contemporary phenomenon which plagues many large cities in America. It poses grave urban problems, particularly for schools which rely on local tax support. Harrisburg's school district is confined by city borders drawn long ago to the city itself. It, therefore, faces a menace which metropolitan or countywide school districts do not encounter: a shrinking tax base. As in so many other American cities, some observers in Harrisburg fear that the exodus for a myriad of reasons threatens the collapse of its school system despite the determined efforts of the school board, teachers, and parents to ensure quality integrated education for their children.

History of School Desegregation in the District

In 1968, the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission (PHRC) requested the Harrisburg School District to submit a plan and timetable to eliminate racially imbalanced schools in the city. In 1968 and 1969, plans were submitted by the school board to the PHRC, which declared them unsatisfactory. Another plan submitted by the board in April 1970, was approved by the PHRC and also by the department of public instruction of the Commonwealth.

Shortly after the board adopted the second plan, a suit was filed in the court of common pleas of Dauphin County by a group of parents to enjoin implementation of the plan on grounds that: (1) the directives from the PHRC placed such "duress" upon the school board as to have illegally forced it to adopt the plan; and (2) the elimination of the "neighborhood school" violated the constitutional rights of parents, pupils, and taxpayers in general.[4]

The county court rejected the suit, however, and the case was then appealed to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. In April 1972, the State supreme court held

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[1] The overall population of Harrisburg grew steadily to a total of 89,544 in 1950. Thereafter, the population began to decline to 79,697 in 1960 and finally to 68,061 in 1970. By 1970, the total Harrisburg population decreased by 14.6 percent. U.S. Bureau of Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1970, Number of Inhabitants, Final Report PC (1)–A40 Pennsylvania, Table 7, Population of Incorporated Places of 10,000 or more: 1900 to 1970.

[2] U.S. Bureau of Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1970, Number of Inhabitants, Final Report PC(1)–A40 Pennsylvania, Table 7, Population of Incorporated Places of 10,000 or more: 1900 to 1970. Blacks constituted 11.3 percent of the total population in 1950. By 1970, black population had doubled in Harrisburg and now constitutes 30.7 percent of the total Harrisburg population. U. S. Bureau of Census, U.S. Census of Population 1970, Negro Population in Selected Places and Selected Counties, PC(S1)–2 June 1971 Supplementary Report, Table 4. Race of the Population of Selected Places by State and Rank: 1960 and 1970.

[3] Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Selected Districts. Enrollment and Staff by Racial/Ethnic group: Fall 1968, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights. For 1971 Statistics See Table 1.

[4] *Balsbaugh* v. *Rowland*, Court of Common Pleas of Dauphin County, Pa., Equity, 1970.

that if the sole basis for the school board's role in implementing the plan was indeed the directive of the PHRC, the board had done only what a duly constituted and authorized State agency (PHRC) had ordered it to do, and this could not be considered "duress".[5] The court also found that the plan "represents a salutary endeavor by the board to improve the quality of education . . . and to comply with the PHRC directive." It went on to state that the plan was within the board's statutory authority.

The court held that when a school board undertakes to correct racial imbalance resulting from *de facto* segregation through a program which involves pupil assignment and transportation, thus substantially changing the pre-existing pattern of neighborhood schools in the process, the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment is in no way violated. "If busing may be said to be a burden imposed by the plan," the court declared, "it is patently clear that the burden, along with the concomitant benefits of an improved educational environment and more and better services and facilities, is evenly distributed among all students." Drawing on judgments contained in the United Supreme Court *Swann* decision, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court continued:

> If assignment and busing may be acceptable, and indeed required, methods of attempting to overcome racial segregation where that condition is historically of *de jure* origin, it would indeed be anomalous if they were nevertheless considered to be unreasonable, discriminatory and therefore unconstitutional methods when voluntarily employed to rectify an imbalance which is the product of *de facto* segregation.

The court agreed with the Harrisburg School Board's view that, in order to prepare Harrisburg students to live in a pluralistic society, each school should have a prescribed ratio of black to white students reflecting the racial proportion of the district as a whole, and that this approach in no way violated the Federal Constitution or the constitution and laws of the State of Pennsylvania.

As noted, the black population of Harrisburg has increased rapidly while the white population has been decreasing. As has happened in many of the Nation's cities, ghetto schools have resulted from the concentration of blacks in the central city and the white exodus to the suburbs. The Harrisburg schools became increasingly black until by 1968, seven of the 18 schools were heavily black.[6] Map 1 shows the attendance zones at that time.

CURRENT PLAN

Implementation

The new plan upheld by the courts resulted in reorganization of the schools.[7] This represented a total departure from the concept of neighborhood schools as currently understood in favor of schools with heterogeneous enrollments mirroring the district as a whole.

In order to reach the stated goals of "educational excellence, racial balance, equity, stability, and economy" the schools were reorganized around a 3–4–2–2–2 grade structure whereby separate facilities served grades K–2, 3–6, 7–8, 9–10, and 11–12. The previous structure tended to be uneconomical in that it duplicated facilities and often wasted the time of psychologists, guidance counselors, and art and music teachers who had to travel back and forth from school to school. Moreover, facilities and staffs tended to vary in quality from neighborhood to neighborhood in that some schools lacked laboratories, nurse's rooms, art rooms, music rooms, guidance counseling facilities, or teachers of specialized subjects and skills.

The new grade structure was intended to benefit from the centralization of staff and resources serving the different levels of the education ladder. To ensure "equal access to excellence for all", the board stated: "Every public school in Harrisburg will reflect in its student population and teaching staff the racial and

[5] *Balsbaugh* v. *Rowland*, Docket Number 32, May Term 1971. Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, Middle District. Opinion filed Apr. 20, 1972.

[6] See the following table:

	Black	White	Total
Franklin Elementary	695	26	[1] 722
Downey Elementary	464	11	475
Hamilton Elementary	736	24	760
Lincoln Elementary	615	98	713
Woodward Elementary	414	28	442
Camp Curtin Junior High	787	485	[1] 1,280
Penn Senior High	596	499	[1] 1,097

[1] The slight variance in the total represents other minority students.

Racial imbalance in varying degrees existed in all but two of the 18 school buildings according to testimony given by Dr. David H. Porter, the superintendent, to the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity on Aug. 4, 1971.

[7] See Map 2.

socioeconomic composition characteristic of the public system as a whole." Children were to be assigned to schools by a computer selection program.[8]

Prior to implementation of the plan, professional staff personnel attended a sensitivity workshop funded under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This program and other "inservice" programs dealt with the question of how to avoid resegregation in the classroom, what to expect in the way of behavior patterns of both students and teachers, and how students are affected by teacher response.

Cost of Reorganization Plan

In view of the additional costs entailed in the plan, Harrisburg raised local real estate taxes by 2¼ mills and levied a new $15 flat tax on every adult resident of the city. These monies paid for lunch programs in elementary and early childhood centers ($123,000), additional transportation costs (about $450,000) and computer rental expenses ($40,000). These expenses could not be covered by cutting back spending in other parts of the budget so the increased taxes were clearly required, according to the superintendent.

Steps to Win Community Acceptance

Local newspapers had previously publicized the resistance and occasional violence associated with busing in several communities in the Nation, incidents which increased fears about busing by some parents. This concern was heightened by the absence of any past tradition of busing in Harrisburg.

To counter these anxieties, the board decided to use paid monitors as supervisors both on the buses and in the school buildings. It also established a special program for students who presented disciplinary problems.

These decisions were well publicized, as was the board's assurance that it accepted responsibility for each student from the moment he boarded the bus until his arrival home later in the day. In the board's opinion, this policy was not really necessary from the standpoint of student safety, but it was helpful in alleviating the anxieties of a number of uneasy parents and students.

Some school officials feared that the strange building, new students, and new staff—in short, the total "newness" of the reorganization scheme—might also tend to provoke disruptions by some students. They were reluctant to permit troublesome students to jeopardize the new system, but they were anxious to help them. One administrator reasoned that suspension and expulsion of the student who disrupts classes "only unleashes a lot of kids who have problems out on the street in an unsupervised situation which leads downhill." A new program was therefore instituted whereby the disruptive student was to be removed from the classroom and assigned to a New Learning Center. While the student attended classes with a modified curriculum, Center personnel attempted to analyze his problems and their causes in order to guide teachers and counselors as well as the students. The Center's efforts and other safeguards by the board were well received by many parents.

A public relations firm handled the effort to win community acceptance for the reorganization plan by emphasizing the theme, "Kids are Happy in the Harrisburg Schools." Poster- type displays were prepared for use in staff offices. Moreover, 12 free billboards, provided as a public service, and 21 bus posters were used early in the summer of 1969 to spread the message: "Lucky Kids go to Harrisburg Schools this Fall!" Prior to the opening of school, the message was changed on these billboards and transit posters to make the point: "The Harrisburg Schools . . . Give Them A Chance!"

In addition to these printed messages, one commercial television station provided the school district with 30 minutes of prime time for a presentation by school personnel regarding the reorganization plan. A television station in the neighboring town of Hershey also gave 40 minutes to the district for a documentary on the plan. All of these efforts, including direct mail approaches using Christmas cards, were thought by the school authorities to have impressed Harrisburg residents favorably.

[8] The computer employed the following criteria to balance the pupil population by schools and classes within schools: (1) Race evenly distributed with a maximum variance of 10 percent from the total percentages in the system; (2) Males and females evenly distributed among all schools and classes within schools; (3) Children from below poverty-line families evenly distributed, with a maximum variance of 10 percent from the total; (4) For grades three through six, extremes of an achievement scale were evenly distributed so that all schools had about the same percentage of children deficient in basic skills as of those most capable of pursuing independent study; (5) Residential location was considered in assigning schools so as to minimize busing.

The superintendent, looking back, offered some advice to other school districts which are implementing desegregation plans:

> You can give all the credit you want to our board, to the fine group of deputies that we have here, to the administrators, and to a cooperating community, but any school district today that tries to operate with their own public relations people and with the limited thinking that educators have is going to be shortchanged.

He declared that the $20,000 fee paid to the advertising agency was a "bargain" for the valuable assistance it gave to school personnel on how to communicate with the public. The consensus of school authorities was that the services of the public relations firm were instrumental in helping the school district to explain its proposals effectively.

Opposition

The immediate reaction to the plan was "85 to 90 percent negative", according to one school board member who voted to adopt the plan. As details of the plan were explained to the community, however, the majority of the people, while not enthusiastic, nevertheless began to accept it. Some families moved from the city to suburbs, others transferred their children to nonpublic schools, and several others supported a lawsuit to halt the plan's implementation.

But the plan did not become a major issue in school board or other local elections, nor has it become one since. There were no boycotts, protest meetings, planned disruptions, nor was there violence associated with the adoption of the plan. Rather, the 22.9 percent decrease in white student enrollment since 1969 suggests that many parents opposed to the plan simply decided to leave the district.[9]

CURRENT SITUATION

White Flights and Parental Attitudes

As noted, the white population of Harrisburg has been decreasing since the early 1950's when the flight to the suburbs began in earnest. The black population has generally remained within the city of Harrisburg, the center of the metropolitan area. Several board members told Commission staff that they believed the busing program had accelerated the flight of families who would otherwise have remained in the city and that the reorganization may have prompted some parents to transfer their children from public to private schools.

Such parents insist that they have made the transfer to ensure their children a quality education and not to avoid integration. They insist that the public schools have been integrated for many years and that the private schools are also integrated today. One couple, whose son attended a Harrisburg school in the first year of the new plan but then was transferred to a parochial school, asserted that "they do not provide quality education in the schools anymore." They added that the school their son had attended prior to the reorganization had provided "quality" education and was 30 percent black. The father of the student explained his action in this way:

> You cannot attribute the poorer quality to busing. At the school he had been attending in his neighborhood he was learning something. Then they bused him into a neighborhood where the level of education was seriously low. It has probably been that way for years. We probably just realized it through the busing situation. We realized that at that one school they were not teaching at the level of teaching at other schools. It is not busing that has caused this. This condition has probably been going on for years, and we who have lived in the city for years are just realizing that it had been going on for years.
>
> I don't feel bitter because I am not running away from the problem. Because I have placed my boy in parochial school does not necessarily mean that I am running away from it because I feel he needs a chance. Maybe 5 or 10 years from now they might have something. They definitely do not have it now.

The dimensions of the declining white enrollment have in any case posed a serious enrollment disparity for Harrisburg.[10]

Slowing this white flight is now seen as critical to the future of the city. One board member said: "If the public schools can't stabilize the situation—if at an early age we cannot work at human relations, trust, learning to live with each other—then I see Harrisburg becoming an all-black city with a larger ghetto area." Looking back over the 2-year transition period, another board member said he thought the majority of parents have "fairly well accepted" the plan, although some have reservations. He added:

> It is still at the point where most people are rather skeptical if they have an option of coming into or going out of the city. . . . Whether or not you can say there are legitimate grounds for their fears, there is no denying on my part that many of them are afraid because of some things.

[9] See Table 3.

[10] See Statistics in Table 1.

One board member explained that some parents feared possible extortion, fights among students, attacks on monitors by students, and increased tension between parents and monitors because of the monitors' alleged mistreatment of students. He said that one 10th grade girl had transferred to a nonpublic school because she could not stand the harassment on the bus—"the pulling of hair, slurring remarks, bumping her, and that sort of thing." He concluded: "There is that kind of underlying fear that I sense and hear reports about from many quarters, specifically white fears."

One school principal, who lives in the suburbs, reported that people were moving to suburbs because they wanted more room, a lawn, and the prestige that goes with the address. He conceded that many were also reacting primarily to the racial tension they read about in the newspaper, but that "improvement of the schools in the last 2 years is a factor now inducing some people to stay."

Many black parents and students initially hesitated to support the plan. Today, most black students appear to dismiss the inconvenience of walking further or riding a bus in light of the advantages of integration. One black parent said she had no opinion on busing except that "when they [students] come out into the world, they all have to be mixed. You know there is no segregation in heaven or in hell."

Concern about the declining proportion of white students in the Harrisburg schools was expressed by several parents, administrators, and board members. One parent predicted that "in another year the schools will be 90 percent black in the city" and that a metropolitan plan involving both suburban and city schools will be needed. Another parent suggested the desirability of a metropolitanwide plan and noted: "If they can ship my kid from where he could walk two blocks to school all the way uptown [about 2½ miles] they ought to be able to ship him across the river when the school there is only 1 mile from here. If the authorities are going to forcibly integrate one school district, then every school district should be integrated."

School officials are encouraged that enrollment for kindergarten, which is voluntary but desegregated, rose from 385 in 1968–1969, to 717 in 1969–70, to 968 in 1971–72, when it changed from majority black to 50.5 percent white.

Disruptions, Violence, and Discipline

The board's efforts to provide "each student with supervisory authority on every bus as it rolled each morning" and to ensure student safety in the schools succeeded in calming many of the parents' fears. Many of these monitors subsequently doubled as aides at the schools.

The New Learning Center approach to disciplinary problems has met with some measure of success, according to the black deputy superintendent of program planning and development. The expected psychological services from local agencies were not made available, however, which limited the program's effectiveness. School officials are now ironing out the deficiencies in the program, and one administrator reported that "as a result of this program, we have at least ended the practice of kicking kids out on the streets."

Busing did result in some unexpected problems. School officials, warned of expected misbehavior by black students on buses, found such problems were created mostly by whites. Social class differences also caused some friction between black students from different sections of the city, a problem which one school official seemed to feel caused more difficulty than any other.

During the past 2 years, there have been no serious racially-motivated incidents in the city schools of Harrisburg.[11]

Student Perceptions

Although Harrisburg residents interviewed by Commission staff agreed that the new school system has "brought people closer together", some white and black students criticized busing because of the inconvenience it caused them. Black students complained that the buses were often late. They were also unhappy about the schedule which required them to be at the bus stops at 6:30 a.m.

White students occasionally expressed concern over scuffling on buses. Two white girls told of a 10-year old being "slapped around" by two black girls who took her bus pass and of similar incidents which frightened them.

One black student reluctantly endorsed the plan: "The only way to get quality schools is to ensure that the white kids are in the integrated schools, and for that reason integration is necessary." She also criticized the schools' emphasis on sports and added that she

[11] A disruption which resulted in several arrests, occurred at an out-of-town football game, This incident, however, was not related to the school integration plan.

was glad there was little interracial mixing or dating. She felt that her school had "gone down" academically because scholastic requirements had been lowered, there was a shortage of books, students were skipping classes, and "student freedom is generally curtailed." Many students believe that if they must be bused, they should be bused to suburban schools which they feel have "everything in abundance because all the money is being concentrated in the suburbs." Some student complaints revealed that fairly normal administrative or discipline problems may become related to school desegregation even when such problems may not be particularly new. In any case, many students viewed the school system negatively. Of the school officials, parents of both races, teachers, and students interviewed, the students had the least positive attitude.

Conclusion

The Harrisburg Plan is an example of school desegregation brought about by a State commission with legal authority to remedy racial imbalance in the schools. Litigation in the State capital served as a precedent for legal action against the school systems in Pittsburgh, McKeesport, Erie, and Philadelphia.

The plan was well designed and effectively administered. School officials, fully aware of student and parental fears about integration, acted to reduce such concern by increasing security and by striving for quality education throughout the system. Most uniquely, the school administrators effectively communicated the plan's positive aspects to the community.

Despite these strenuous efforts, several developments jeopardize success of the plan. White migration from the city to the suburbs is working against the integrated school system by siphoning off white students and higher-income families. Some residents fear that Harrisburg could become the small, black "inner-city" of the larger metropolitan area. Furthermore, the devastation caused by major floods in June 1972 may also cause families to leave the city.

The plan achieved a school reorganization with sufficient safeguards to offer quality integrated education to all, but the declining total population and the declining proportion of white students may make this achievement less possible to maintain. Many students, parents, and school officials see the consolidation of the city schools with the suburban schools as the only solution to the financial problems. They claim that the entire metropolitan area is already one unit which handles many regional problems. If outdated governmental boundaries continue to block efforts to solve problems that clearly transcend boundaries, many observers worry that Harrisburg's school problems will remain largely unsolved despite the determined efforts of school personnel.

Survey of pupil population—trend by racial characteristics, 1930–70, Harrisburg City Schools, Harrisburg, Pa.

Year	Total pupils	White	Negro	Others	Percent Negro
1930	13, 690	12, 047	1, 643	----	12
1940	12, 395	10, 039	2, 356	----	19
1945	10, 353	8, 075	2, 278	----	22
1950	10, 551	7, 808	2, 743	----	26
1955	11, 644	8, 151	3, 493	----	30
1960	13, 274	8, 496	4, 778	----	36
1962	13, 281	8, 235	5, 046	----	38
1964	13, 972	8, 165	3, 453	----	39
1965	13, 785	7, 741	5, 940	104	43
1966	13, 497	7, 288	6, 140	69	45
1967	13, 751	7, 118	6, 532	101	47. 5
1968	13, 313	6, 700	6, 613	----	51
1969	13, 252	6, 095	7, 157	----	54
1970	12, 473	5, 228	7, 245	----	58
1971 [1]	12, 047	4, 699	7, 348	----	61

[1] Enrollment Report Summary—Nov. 3, 1971–72 (End of year tabulations incomplete.) June 15, 1972.

PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN HOKE COUNTY, N.C.

Public School Desegregation in Hoke County, North Carolina

Hoke County is located in rural south central North Carolina and covers an area of 326 square miles. Although it has been traditionally conservative in its voting habits, Hoke County, unlike North Carolina as a whole, gave a small majority of its votes to former Governor Terry Sanford rather than Alabama Governor George Wallace in the May 1972 presidential primary.

In 1970 the county population was 16,436, an increase of only 0.5 percent over the 1960 population. Twenty-six percent of Hoke County families have incomes below the poverty level, and a number of families have multiple earners contributing to total family income. The average per capita income is $1,663 ($2,492 for the State), and the median family income is $6,844 ($7,774 for the State).[1] The school population, grades 1–12, is 4,908, of which approximately 50 percent are black, 35 percent are white, and 15 percent are Lumbee Indians. The average per pupil expenditure for education is $607.39, as compared with $473 for the State.[2] Employment is found chiefly in agriculture, textiles (Burlington Industries' Worsted Plant is located in Raeford, the county seat) and in poultry processing. The labor force numbers 6,510 with 6,010 employed and 500 unemployed (an unemployment rate of 7.7 percent).[3]

The presence of Ft. Bragg also provides employment for Hoke County residents, and the county receives $45,000 in impact aid.[4]

History of School Desegregation Efforts

Until 1964 the county operated a "triple" school system, with separate white, black, and Indian schools. One school traditionally served all Indian children in Hoke County from grades 1–12. Black students attended four all-black schools and white students three all-white schools.

During the 1964–65 school year, J. W. McLauchlin, previously an all-white elementary school, enrolled one black first grade student. As a further example of things to come in the wake of national pressure for school desegregation, several black students enrolled the following year at the Indian school, and several Indian students enrolled at other schools. Nearly 30 black students began to attend three formerly white schools.

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[1] As reported by John Coder, Statistician, Personal and Family Income Branch, U.S. Bureau of the Census. The figures are for 1970. In 1960 the per capita income was $1,705 and the median family income was $2,733.

[2] As reported by Ron Smith, Public Instruction, State Board of Education, Raleigh, N.C. Of Hoke County's per pupil output, 10 percent comes from local, 19 percent from Federal, and 71 percent from State funds.

[3] North Carolina Employment Security Commission (1970 Data).

[4] Impact aid is Federal assistance given to local educational agencies upon which the United States has placed extra financial burdens because (1) the revenues available to such agencies from local sources have been reduced as the result of the acquisition of real property by the United States; or (2) such agencies provide education for children residing on Federal property; or (3) such agencies provide education for children whose parents are employed on Federal property; or (4) there has been a sudden and substantial increase in school attendance as the result of Federal activities, (20 U.S.C. 236) Enacted Sept. 30, 1950, P.L. 874, 81st Cong., Sec. 1, 64 Stat. 1100; amended Apr. 11, 1966, P.L. 89–10, Title I, Sec. 2, 79 Stat. 27. Ft. Bragg has assisted Hoke County through its Domestic Action Program by initiating, among other projects, the Hoke County Health Clinic, School Health Project, Community Health Education, and Special Community Health Projects. *Helping Hands: Domestic Action at Fort Bragg.* The Green Berets have been especially active in aiding medical and paramedical programs. John J. Green, "A New Image for the Green Berets," The Sunday News Magazine (Detroit, Michigan). Mar. 12, 1972, p. 17.

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In the fall of 1967, approximately 50 black students enrolled in predominantly white schools under a freedom-of-choice plan. At the same time, all schools maintained integrated staffs consistent with the HEW guidelines.

Anticipating full desegregation, Hoke County in 1966 obtained a grant of about $70,000 under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to be shared with nearby St. Paul's City School District, for a series of teacher workshops. About two-thirds of the participants were drawn from Hoke County.

The workshops dealt with such subjects as the desegregation responsibilities of the schools and communities under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act; the development of a better understanding and appreciation of the abilities of all students; better communication among races; understanding the value systems of students of different racial and ethnic backgrounds; dissolution of racial myths; accepted procedures for coping with discipline problems; and the study of new teaching trends.

A 3-week series of workshops began during the summer of 1966 followed by five Saturday sessions in the fall. The program concluded with a full week of lectures and discussions in June 1967. About 100 teachers and other professional personnel took part in the workshops. Board members also attended a few of the sessions. All three ethnic groups were included among the volunteer participants. Neither parents nor students was invited to take part.

Among the speakers at the workshops were representatives of both the U.S. Office of Education and the North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction, who explained the legal requirements for school desegregation and the technical assistance available from the Federal and State governments. Other speakers included various specialists on race relations as well as officials from school districts which had gone through the experience of desegregation.

The Desegregation Process, 1968–1970

In June 1968, the Hoke County School Board announced its decision to eliminate all racially identifiable schools through a combination of grade restructuring and geographic zoning. Grades 6–12 were to be desegregated in September 1968, and the lower grades in the fall of 1969.

The board sent a news release to the News Journal (Raeford), the county newspaper, announcing the desegregation plan, which stated that its decision to desegregate completely was a voluntary one, not required by the courts or by Federal enforcement proceedings under Title VI. The board had, however, previously been warned by HEW that the existing freedom-of-choice plan was not working and additional steps toward desegregation were necessary. Donald A. Abernethy, who became superintendent of the Hoke County Schools in 1967 when his predecessor died and who has been instrumental in helping Hoke County implement desegregation, later noted in testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Equal Education Opportunity in 1970:

> I understand that the local board of education had been warned by HEW during the summer of 1967 that a greater degree of integration would be required by the fall of 1968. In fact, shortly after I became superintendent, I received a letter requesting that a plan for total desegregation be submitted to HEW.

Under the board's new desegregation plan, the county's three high schools were consolidated into one. Students from Hawkeye High and Upchurch (all-black) were moved to the more modern Hoke County High (formerly white). Another advantage of the latter school was that an additional school (originally intended to be a junior high) had just been constructed across the street from it.

All students in grades 6–8 were to attend Upchurch, a formerly all-black school that had served grades 1–12. Under the new desegregation plan, grades 6–8 filled Upchurch, necessitating transfer of Upchurch students in grades 1–5 to the all-black Scurlock (grades 1 and 2) and West Hoke (grades 3 and 4) schools, and to the all-while Raeford Elementary School (grade 5). Since some Upchurch students were sent to Raeford Elementary, the fifth grade at the latter school was partly desegregated in 1968.

In the fall of 1969, grades 1–4 and the remainder of grade 5 were completely integrated through reorganization of the elementary schools and re-districting. Three attendance zones were established—western, central, and eastern. Approximately the same ratio of white to nonwhite students was established in the three zones as exists in the school population. The schools in the eastern and western areas could adequately accommodate grades 1–5. In order to achieve a successful desegregation pattern in the central area, it was necessary to pair the schools so that grades K–1 were housed in one building in Raeford, grades 2 and 3 in a building a short distance away, and grades 4

and 5 in a former Indian school, 6 miles south of Raeford.

Following desegregation, seven schools were in operation instead of nine. One of the two schools no longer operating became a part of Hoke County High School, and the other was closed in accordance with county plans.[5]

Community Reactions to Desegregation

Despite the area's relative conservatism, no serious disruptions occurred after the announcement of further plans for desegregation. Mr. Abernethy observed:

> The 1968–69 plans were a drastic departure from the traditional organization of the schools. Naturally, there were some complaints . . . . Some white parents felt that they could not bear to have their children attend the Upchurch school. Almost every white parent worried about standards being lowered because of integration, worries we tried to alleviate with assurances that every child would have an opportunity to progress as far as he could without being held back by slower students. Moreover, some white parents were afraid that the nonwhite teachers would not be as capable as the white teachers—a concern ultimately proven unnecessary.
>
> The white parents were more direct in expressing their concern, but the Negro and Indian parents also had fears and concerns. Some Negro groups called to wonder about Negro staff members keeping their positions.

Mr. Abernethy told Commission staff that, although there was some apprehension, integration proceeded smoothly on the whole largely because of the positive leadership of the school board.

> Once the decision was made, [the board] never reneged, even privately, on its commitment. Public confidence was displayed on May 2, [1970] when all five members were renominated in the primary. A candidate for the board who had expressed sentiments that the board had moved too fast, finished last in a field of nine candidates. I think it is significant that the board stated in a public hearing that the decision to integrate the school was made, not because of pressure from Washington, but because the board felt it was the right thing for our schools.

The superintendent also credited the positive determination of the principals, teachers, staff, and students, editorial support from the News Journal, and a spirit of cooperation from the general public with joint responsibility for the relatively peaceful transition.

He also noted, however, that "it would be difficult to say how the community would feel if laws did not exist that required integration. But I think it has been generally accepted, and very few people today are really dissatisfied with it."

Several of those interviewed by Commission staff said that the community approached integration very cautiously and accepted it with resignation. According to one teacher: "The school board and the majority of the people saw integration as inevitable. I don't think either race was real excited about it. We had it to do and made up our minds to do it. Public education is here to stay."

While the principal of Upchurch Middle School observed that everyone was critical at first and afraid that total integration would not work, he went on to say: "But, in general, it has been accepted. More than nine out of 10 would say the right thing was done." Another principal agreed that: "When total integration came, about 97 percent of the people said 'here it is, and we're going to do the best we can with it.' "

A black mother of three said that at first, "things didn't look too good, but there hasn't been any trouble." She firmly supported the new school system, stating bluntly: "I approve."

A black father reported that he was pleased from the very outset about the desegregation plan and thinks the Hoke County plan is working better than similar plans in surrounding areas, although "I do sense a feeling of tension in the schools."

Not all parents interviewed favored integration. A white mother felt that 1968 was too early for integration. "Many feelings have had to be smothered, especially by the whites who are bending over backward to avoid trouble. I do not feel our children should have to feel afraid to walk down the halls. If there is too much contact, there will be intermarriage. I think neighborhood schools are the answer. Freedom of choice is Americanism."

An Indian mother of two said she liked the system better before integration. "I just don't like it this way with the races mixed. My children are always getting beat on by bigger colored kids, but I'm not saying it's just them doing it. I think they should have left everybody at their own schools." She added that she resented her son having to spend so much time on the school bus.

[5] The racial composition by enrollment of each school as of October 1971 follows:

School	Black	White	Indian
Hoke County High	755	525	153
Upchurch	752	449	193
South Hoke	204	156	96
Raeford Elementary	228	139	95
J. W. McLauchlin	142	72	70
West Hoke	231	121	52
Scurlock Elementary	220	211	37

White Flight

White flight has not been a significant problem in the desegregation of Hoke County schools. An effort was made to establish a private school in the county, but the project was abandoned due to lack of enrollment. Along with general community acceptance, whether affirmatively or resignedly, of the county's integration plan, relatively high private school fees may also have accounted for the shortage of students at the private school.

A private school was opened in 1969 in adjacent Robeson County where serious racial problems had been reported in that county's public schools. Some Hoke County students (reports suggested anywhere from nine to 50) enrolled in the new school.

According to HEW statistics, in 1971 there were 1,674 white students attending Hoke County schools, 48 less than were enrolled in 1969. Specific information was not available to explain the decline in white attendance. School authorities feel that several factors, such as the steady dropout rate, population decline, and/or negative reactions to integration probably account for the slight drop in enrollment.

Effects of Integration

The board of education considered the matter of the academic benefits of integration, in view of the disparate achievement levels of students in the individual schools. In 1968 two consultants from Duke University were engaged to evaluate student progress in grades 6 through 12 during the first year of integration at that level. Funds from an Elementary and Secondary Education Act Title V grant financed the study. The California Achievement Test was administered to all students in October 1968 and was readministered (along with the California Test of Mental Maturity) at the close of the spring semester of that school year.

The study [Academic Performance and School Integration: A Multi-Ethnic Analysis] found:

(a) The white pupils averaged about one grade level higher than the Indian and black pupils at the sixth grade. The range of difference gradually increased to approximately two grade levels difference at the 12th grade with the Indians slightly higher than the black pupils;

(b) The black students performed better after integration than they did before integration. The small sample of Indian students showed no significant difference;

(c) The race of the teacher made no significant difference;

(d) White and Indian students experienced no negative effects in achievement from integration.

This study, covering the first year of integration for sixth through 12th grade students, offered some encouragement for overall academic achievement and prospects for future performance, although school officials concede that such early assessment is not conclusive and that additional evaluation is necessary.

School Personnel

Prior to desegregation one Indian and four black principals served in the school system. Subsequently, one Indian and one black remained as principals. One black principal retired, one became an assistant superintendent for curriculum and supervision, and the other resigned to pursue doctoral studies. The remaining Indian principal is currently on leave completing his doctorate.

Among the teaching personnel, 46 percent are black, 40 percent white, and 14 percent Indian.[6] Approximately the same racial ratio that exists in the county population and in the student population is maintained for the faculty in each school. The superintendent said that when the system integrated, all faculty members were assigned to schools to follow their students. He explained: "I don't mean teachers were assigned to black students when they got to the schools, but they were kept on the faculties and went to that particular school."

Following integration in 1968–69, all but nine teachers remained in the system. Of these nine, two [one Indian and one white] accepted positions in other North Carolina school systems, two left for maternity leave, two [both black] returned to school, one black is no longer teaching, and the whereabouts of two black teachers are unknown to the school board.

At Hoke County High School the principal and both assistant principals are white. An Indian heads the guidance department, and blacks head the departments of social studies, physical education and vocational training.

The principal of Scurlock Elementary School observed that racially insensitive teachers have been a

[6] Before integration 49 percent were black, 38 percent were white, and 13 percent were Indian.

major problem, but "they are transferred if they cannot make the adjustment. The faculty has improved, and these persons who want to grow have been able to do so."

The teachers interviewed by the Commission staff generally felt that teachers are treated fairly and that in turn they treat students fairly. One black teacher disagreed and told the Commission:

> Teachers don't care about predominantly black classes. They 'coke, joke, and smoke' away the day, try to teach the students as though they have come from the same background as the teacher, then cannot understand why their approach fails. Black teachers generally are given the slower classes, one or two have advanced classes. Black teachers work harder and are afraid to speak out against wrongs they see and experience for fear of losing their jobs. Next year there will be a one-year probation period followed by tenure which should provide better job security.

Student Reactions

Students almost immediately were concerned with fair representation of all races in school organizations. This proved to be no problem. Following integration, each race was represented in every school-sponsored organization, including majorettes, cheerleaders, Beta Club [honor club], chorus, band, class officers, student council and pep club. In 1969 the Homecoming Queen was a black girl and the 1970–71 student body president was black. The Kiwanis Club-sponsored Key Club was all-white during the first year of integration but has become integrated. The basketball team is also integrated. During the Commission staff visit in May 1972, staff members observed tryouts for the Junior Varsity Cheerleading team which took place in front of the entire high school with the students acting as judges. Both blacks and whites competed, although a preponderance of those trying out were blacks. (Results of the student vote for each cheerleader's position were not available to Commission staff in the course of its visit.)

Almost all of the students interviewed felt that integration is working. As one Indian student put it: "Integration is working because students are getting along and participating in other school activities. It's good to attend integrated schools because you know more people and learn more from different races."

Many students reported that they have friends of other races and that, although some voluntary separatism appears in the cafeterias and on the playground, there are also many integrated groups. The first black student to attend an integrated school under the 1968–69 plan said: "They accepted me from the first day of the first grade. I have friends pretty much half and half and a few Indians."

Among students, Indians seem to participate least in activities. Several administrators and teachers expressed concern about the limited participation of Indian students but suggested that their failure to join activities might be caused by farm work responsibilities at home. One teacher, noting a high absentee rate among Indian students, commented that "90 percent of Indian absenteeism is because of work at home." Others suggested that timidity and insecurity caused by their minority station in the schools played a role.

Prior to the recent senior prom and senior weekend festivities, a question was raised over the type of band to be secured. The issue was resolved by hiring a band that played both "soul" and "square" music.

This year at Hoke County High School the black and white students put on a skit involving the merging of the KKK and the Black Panthers. The principal reported that the performance was well received and illustrated the absence of racial tension in the school.

One enthusiastic black first-grader told the Commission: "I like school because I make 100s on all my papers!" The reaction of black and white kindergarten and first graders to whom Commission staff talked was generally characterized by the phrase "I love school."

Transportation

The 54 buses of Hoke County now operate 15 minutes less per day following complete desegregation. Before 1968–69 three buses traveled the same routes. One bus transported whites; one blacks; and one Indians.

Approximately 3,648 students were bused in the 1968–69 school year. Since total integration, 4,228 are transported yearly, an increase of 580 according to Joe D. Soles, Transportation Officer in Hoke County. Since busing has reportedly not been a problem in the county, precise statistics have not been maintained although some students travel a greater distance than they did previously. Some, for example, are bused 6 miles from the city of Raeford to South Hoke Elementary School.

One school official reported that the incidents of disruption and vandalism were "mild" before integration, and since integration are still "mild." A few broken windows and a few fights have made up the problems, none usually racial in nature. During deseg-

regation the cost of transportation has increased from $22.50 to $29.29 per student but, according to Mr. Abernethy, this increase has nothing to do with integration. He noted that: "Earlier we were paying our bus drivers $30 a month. Now they must be paid the minimum wage which raises our expenses. If this factor were removed, we would be paying less for transportation since integration."

None of the students interviewed by Commission staff had strong feelings about busing, although one felt that "you should not bus out of your district or neighborhood because of color. If you want to stay in your own neighborhood and attend the school, that's your privilege."

Several parents expressed concern over busing. An Indian mother said that she was not in favor of having to bus her daughter 6 miles to school when there was another school almost at their front door. She said that this was her only complaint about integration, and she went on to note that: "My daughter is doing better now than before."

A white mother told Commission staff: "I have never known of an ideal bus situation. Misbehavior abounds. I would not let my child ride a bus to school. My children only ride for sports activities when there are parents to chaperone."

School officials plan to inaugurate a dual system of busing in the 1972–73 school year which will be dual in the sense that elementary and secondary students will be bused separately. They jested to the staff: "Thought it was segregated busing, didn't you?"

Disruptions and Discipline

There have been no major racial disruptions in Hoke County schools since integration. Some quarrels and fights have occurred but they rarely relate to racial problems.

The principal of Hoke County High School is a disciplinarian who enforces a dress and hair code as a means of maintaining authority. When he finds two students of the same race fighting he suspends them for 2 weeks; but if they are of different races, they are expelled for the rest of the year. This kind of policy, regarding hair and dress codes and discipline, receives strong, unwavering parental support.

This principal also states that there is little racial tension at the school although there have been some racial incidents of which the most recent involved a black student who struck a white student after provocation.

The principal of Raeford Elementary School said there have been some fights but he added: "Fights do not occur because of race. Even in the first year of integration, fights were rarely racial."

The principal of Scurlock Elementary School reported that very few racial incidents have occurred, but added: "Some black students in the fifth grade told some white students they had no right to be in the school because it belonged to all the black students. The blacks were initially upset at losing the school but now have accepted the white students."

A teacher at McLauchlin Elementary School complanied that defiant black and Indian students give white and Indian teachers a hard time, and that defiant white and Indian students give black teachers a hard time. "It is a racial thing," he observed.

Integration Within the Classroom

In most schools, classroom grouping is left up to teachers although the general policy of the school system is that there should be no ability grouping.

Because blacks are the majority group, they often make up the largest segment of the classes. At Upchurch, for example, four or five classes are 90–95 percent black. None, however, is overwhelmingly white. Mr. Abernathy said that the preponderance of blacks is "not by design" and that an effort is made to have a comparable number of students by race and sex. When asked how Indians tend to be grouped, the superintendent explained: "They fall both ways, if there is a way." Indian students tend to maintain friendships with both blacks and whites, he said "falling both ways again."

The principal at Scurlock reported that there was no ability grouping there, while a teacher at Raeford Elementary said that grouping at that school is not racial but based solely on ability. An Upchurch administrator observed: "We've found that parents like it better if they know there is ability grouping." A teacher at Hoke County High School reported that slow students are grouped by class with white students predominating in the higher mathematics and geometry courses.

Raeford Elementary administrators, unhappy with the grouping policy utilized for the 1971–72 school year, plan to move to self-contained and ungrouped classes for the 1972–73 school year.

Superintendent and School Board

Mr. Abernethy became superintendent in 1967 following the death of his predecessor. Together he and the board have maintained a position of firm resolve that "it [school desegregation] shall be done—done well." Many individuals interviewed by Commission staff reported that the leadership exercised by these six men has been the key to smooth and peaceful school desegregation in Hoke County. At a public meeting held at the time of consolidation and desegregation, the board stated its position that desegregation would be undertaken and completed "because it is right for the school system." An assistant superintendent, reflecting back, commented that "they took a very positive stand." Mr. Abernethy added: "We were unequivocal in supporting the desegregation of schools. The mistake made by some school leaders is that they decided to delay, oppose, and sabotage with predictable results—trouble. It is hard to turn people around after attitudes have hardened, and that is what many have had to do."

The present school board is composed of a doctor, an insurance salesman, a pharmacist, and two farmers, one of whom is chairman of the board. All five are college graduates. They and the superintendent have 24 of their own children in the Hoke County schools.

The presence of their children in the public school system suggests the strength of their parents' convictions. The board has adopted a policy requiring that all public school teachers, administrators, and substitute teachers must send their children to public schools. One board member stated: "We assumed that the ones who sent their children to private schools were against desegregation. It was not fair to our students to employ people who sent their children to private schools. It is our feeling that the only reason they sent them there was to escape desegregation. All of us were against anyone working for the schools who was doing this kind of thing." In the board's view, this would amount to an indirect subsidy of the private schools.

This position resulted in a decision involving a white mother who had been a substitute teacher for 8 years, but who in 1971–72 enrolled a child in a private school attended by only one black student. Although she had another child in public school and still another one who had attended public school for 11 years (but who chose to spend the last year in a military school), the woman was not asked to substitute during the 1971–72 school year. She said that she had thoroughly enjoyed substituting and that the public school had been her "life's blood" for 8 years. She complained that the board had shown "sheer prejudice," in that "unqualified" people were asked to substitute while she had been denied her right to pursue a profession she loved. She also felt that the board's position has been inconsistent for she is still permitted to participate in a voluntary reading program 1 hour a week in an elementary school. When questioned about the board's response to her complaints, she said the reply had been: "We can't keep you from volunteering." Despite this conflict with the board, one of her three children is enrolled in the public schools and rides to school with a board member's child.

In the eyes of many, the board's stand lends uncompromising and unequivocal support to an integrated public school system. One white parent, supporting this position, insisted that "private schools are not the answer."

Hoke County' School Board is elected every 2 years. The current board was re-elected in 1970 and renominated in a primary on May 6, 1972. The chairman has been on the board for 20 years. One school administrator, however, commented in retrospect that it was "a good thing no election immediately followed the announcement that desegregation would be undertaken. Nobody would have been re-elected."

Replying to a query regarding the lack of black and Indian representation on the board, an assistant superintendent said: "In this county, the nonwhite vote is the swing vote. Nonwhites seem reasonably satisfied with what goes on in Hoke County schools. They voted solidly for all five members. There were no issues, and people didn't criticize the current board."

One board member remarked that busing is "nothing new" locally and creates no problems. He said he feels that "home life" is the source of most problems confronting integrated schools.

Another board member appeared enthusiastic about the "success" of the desegregation plan in Hoke County and maintained that he "wouldn't change the school system now for anything." Most parents now approve of the desegregation plan, in his view mostly because the board has always been "positive" on the issue.

The chairman of the board credited successful integration to the fairness of school authorities—"Many boards think they are fair, but they are not"—and to strong discipline in the county schools.

An Indian staff member commented lightheartedly: "We don't know why it's [integration] working here,

and if we did, we wouldn't tell you. We'd sell it and make a million."

The real answer to the question may not be so difficult to find. Commission staff was informed that when the board asked Mr. Abernethy to serve as superintendent, its members were aware that he felt that school desegregation was desirable. Many persons interviewed regarded the efforts of the superintendent and the board as clear evidence of their consistent and conscientious support for quality integrated education and this support seems to have been the key to the smooth desegregation of Hoke County's schools.

PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN JEFFERSON TOWNSHIP, OHIO

The Jefferson Township School District has never been under a court order to desegregate nor does it operate under a voluntary desegregation plan. As a majority black system in which the percentage of white students is increasing, the Jefferson system is unique among school districts studied by the Commission.

The Jefferson Township School District is a suburban-rural community which lies adjacent to the southwestern boundary of Dayton, Ohio. Farming is the chief occupation. There are no major industries. The two principal population clusters are the Drexel and New Chicago-Blairwood areas, both of which are located in the northeastern section of the district. Drexel is populated chiefly by lower-income white residents from Appalachia, most of whom are fairly recent arrivals to the area. The new Chicago-Blairwood area is inhabited primarily by middle class blacks who hold white-collar jobs in Dayton. This latter community began as a housing devolpment approximately 15 years ago. The price range for houses is $20,000 to $35,000.

Jefferson Township, at one time, was the one suburban area where housing was available to blacks who sought to leave Dayton. In addition to moderate-income black residents, a few of the Dayton area's most affluent blacks now occupy $60,000–$100,000 homes in Jefferson Township. As a result of recent progress in the area of open housing, minority persons are increasingly able to find housing in other communities to the north and east of Dayton, and the number of blacks moving to Jefferson Township is declining.

Jefferson Township is surrounded on the northern, western, and southern sides by either all-white or predominantly white townships. Some teachers in the Jefferson Township School System who have taught school in adjacent districts feel that these communities harbor a good deal of racial prejudice, particularly in the matter of school desegregation. One teacher who had taught in a nearby township commented that: "If that township was ordered to implement a desegregation plan involving the city of Dayton, a civil war would surely follow."

There are five schools in the Jefferson Township School System, with a total of 2,711 students in the 1971–72 school year. Schools in the district include: Blairwood (grades K–2); Radcliff Heights (grades 3–4); Jefferson Elementary (grades 5–6); Jefferson Junior High (grades 7–9); and Jefferson Senior High (grades 10–12).

Sixty-five percent of all students are black, a decrease of 6½ percent from the previous year. School officials state that black students comprised only 10 percent of the enrollment 10 years ago, but by 1966 this percentage had increased to between 40 and 50 percent of the school population.

One principal noted that as blacks moved into the Township, many middle class whites who had served as pillars of the schools left, which resulted in a predictable loss of financial and participatory support to the district.

The first black professional personnel were hired by the school system around 1960. Today blacks constitute roughly 50 percent of the instructional staff. As the predominantly white townships adjacent to Jefferson recruit few black teachers, the township has had little competition in hiring black faculty.

By 1968, Jefferson had become a majority black school district. When the school superintendent resigned that year, the school board selected a black to fill the vacancy. The present school board chairman observed that: "With a majority black student population and a black superintendent, Jefferson Township's schools were commonly identified as a black system within the total metropolitan area."

As a result, the Jefferson School System has received much attention from the media. Several teachers and administrators have expressed concern at the nature of the media coverage which the Jefferson schools receive. One assistant principal stated that "the high school's championship football and basketball teams

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receive good coverage, but incidents which reflect poorly on the school are often blown out of proportion."

School Consolidation

During the 1969–70 school year, the superintendent publicly proposed a school consolidation program in the interests of improved efficiency. He explained that better use could be made of faculty, facilities, and equipment if his consolidation plan were adopted. The plan called for reorganizing the K–6 grade structure in the three elementary schools to provide the following changes:

Blairwood; Prekindergarten, Kindergarten, Grades 1–2.
Radcliff Heights; Grades 3–4.
Jefferson Elementary; Grades 5–6.

Opposition to Consolidation

The consolidation proposal quickly ran into a storm of controversy. Several school authorities interviewed by Commission staff insisted that many arguments against the plan were clearly based less on the issue of consolidation *per se* than on opposition to the by-product of the proposed consolidation: school desegregation and the concomitant dissolution of the neighborhood school concept.

To these school leaders, public reaction in Jefferson Township was heightened by what they called the national "hysteria" then occurring over busing. Although the rationale for consolidation was more efficient use of available resources, most of those who opposed the plan did so on the grounds that it was a thinly-concealed integration scheme. But, as one teacher pointed out, if integration had been the sole objective of reorganizing the elementary schools, it could have been accomplished by redrawing the school zones. According to one school administrator, there would have been no basis for controversy if the Blairwood and Radcliff Heights Schools had been constructed on South Union Road which bisects the county where the other three schools are located. Sufficient land was available to permit such a plan.

The black residents of the Blairwood area reportedly took much pride in "their" elementary school, and the school was conveniently located in the immediate neighborhood. Although most Blairwood residents preferred to maintain the existing system, they, nevertheless, reluctantly followed the superintendent's leadership. One housewife summed up the feelings of a number of Blairwood residents: "My husband and I attended school consolidation meetings and supported the superintendent, although we would have preferred to send our youngest child to a school [Blairwood] closer to home."

Despite a past record of opposition to school bond issues, including the bond issue providing for the construction of Radcliff Heights Elementary School, many white Drexel residents had come to consider Radcliff Heights, once built, to be "their" school. Many, therefore, objected strenuously to the consolidation plan. The opening paragraph of a petition dated February 14, 1970, and signed by approximately 400 residents in the Drexel area, summarized the views of these parents:

"It is the feeling of the parents and tax-payers of our district that we would sooner see our schools closed if we cannot have a say in the way our schools are run. We want to retain the tradition of the neighborhood schools."

The petition went on to state that: "We will, when the next school tax levy is placed on the ballot, do everything we can to see that it is defeated." [1]

Some teachers also had misgivings regarding the consolidation plan. A Radcliff Heights teacher stated that she had doubts regarding the viability of consolidation: "I felt that the plan would disrupt a smoothly working school system." Nevertheless, teachers who had doubts tended to support the superintendent.

Adoption of the Consolidation Plan

Despite such misgivings, the consolidation plan was approved by the school board and implemented at the beginning of the 1970–71 school year.[2] Members of the school board said they have received few complaints since the implementation. All teachers and administrators interviewed by Commission staff felt that consoli-

[1] In May 1972, the Drexel voters, in alliance with dissatisfied taxpayers elsewhere, succeeded in their pledge to defeat the operating levy, although the levy had nothing to do with school consolidation. The defeat was by an overwhelming margin.

[2] The racial composition of the board of education at the time of consolidation approval was one black and four whites. Currently, there are four blacks and one white on the board. The board chairman is a retired Air Force colonel who owns a tool and die plant. Three other members are employees of the U.S. Government, and the single white board member owns a plumbing company.

dation had accomplished its educational purpose. One board member noted that a family that had most strenuously opposed consolidation was now among its strongest supporters. A white teacher at Blairwood said: "I did not accept the plan [consolidation] because I could not imagine those young children changing classes. After experiencing the reorganization, I'm very impressed. The system has worked out and the parents are very pleased."

Consolidation also achieved integration in all the elementary schools, dispersing black and white students to the three former elementary schools in numbers comparable to the ratio of blacks and whites in the school district.

Transportation

Approximately 2,500 of Jefferson's 2,711 total students are now transported by school buses. Prior to consolidation, some 2,000 students were bused. According to the district's assistant superintendent, the slightly increased costs for transportation resulting from consolidation have been more than offset by savings accomplished through released classrooms and fewer equipment and furniture outlays. Transportation costs now average $28.53 per pupil per school year. Although no additional purchases were necessary, the school board retained one bus which was to have been sold.

The distance and time of the average bus ride are 8 miles and 25 minutes respectively although some distances and times may be as long as 12 miles and 45 minutes. A new bus routing system was developed by the transportation officer. Few parents interviewed by Commission staff expressed strong concern over any inconvenience caused by the consolidated transportation schedule. Many students indicated a preference for riding the bus to walking to school. One child remarked: "It's fun to ride the bus."

The assistant superintendent noted that incidents of misbehavior on the buses have been very few. None of the 10 fights reported in the 1971–72 school year between students on integrated buses was identified as racially motivated.

Financial Problems of Jefferson Township

The exodus of the white middle class, which began 10 to 12 years ago as blacks started to arrive in considerable numbers, has created financial difficulties for the township's schools by depriving them of support and constricting the already narrow tax base.

As in so many areas of the section, the burden of supporting the school system in Jefferson Township falls squarely on the shoulders of homeowners via the property tax. The property tax rate for operation of schools is currently 30.1 mills or $30.10 per $1,000 of assessed value. Jefferson Township residents pay an average of $241 a year in support of school operations. School appropriations for the 1971 calendar year amounted to $2,021,800.59. Of this amount, $75,576.10 came from Federal sources. The superintendent stated that additional funds are desperately needed for building repairs and increasing teachers' salaries.

In an effort to secure support for the school operating levy, the superintendent and school board members canvassed the community in May 1972 and distributed financial fact sheets. They noted that Jefferson Township spent $625 per pupil in the 1971–72 school year, while the Dayton School System spent approximately $1,000 per pupil in the same school year.

There appear to be several reasons for the lack of support for education in Jefferson. The most obvious is the high property tax rate due to the lack of business and industry in the township.

Increasing numbers of Jefferson residents derive no direct benefit from public education. Elderly persons on fixed incomes or residents whose children have completed their schooling have no further need for public education and may well resent paying more taxes to support it.

Some residents expressed their disapproval of "permissiveness" in the school, particularly in the junior and senior high schools. Several school officials and parents complained that the public seemed to believe that the State and/or Federal governments would provide whatever additional funds may be necessary to continue operation of the public schools.

A problem clearly deriving from lack of funds is the township's difficulty in retaining competent teachers. The Jefferson School System pays a beginning teacher who has a B.A. degree, $6,700.[3] After years of experience, that teacher's pay can rise no higher than $10,264 without additional education certification. The range for a teacher with a master's degree is

[3] This figure is among the lowest for beginning salaries in the school systems of the Dayton Metropolitan Area. Only three of the 16 systems in the area pay less to a beginning teacher who has a B.A. degree. Statistics were provided by the Research Department, Ohio Education Association.

$7,336 to $11,848. Several school administrators reported that the system was losing desirable teachers simply because of its inability to offer a more competitive salary schedule.

Along with the question of teacher competency, however, goes the problem of low morale when salaries are low. Several teachers, black and white, commented that some of their colleagues arrive late for class, leave early, and take no books home in preparation for the following school day. Most of these complaints were voiced by younger teachers, who said that the guilty teachers were both young and old, male and female, white and black.

In any case, the township's financial problems threaten the efforts of the superintendent and the board to provide quality, integrated education for all students.

Integration Within the Schools

Race relations among the elementary children are very cordial. According to the principal at Blairwood, there has never been any friction at the K–2 level. A fifth-grade teacher at Jefferson Elementary said that: "The students at Jefferson seem very cooperative and willing to listen." Another Jefferson Elementary teacher indicated that black and white students mingled easily at his school. He observed that racial separation seemed to begin in the junior high school years.

A number of teachers viewed the reorganization involved in consolidation as beneficial to relations among children. A Blairwood teacher stated that: "Second graders are [now] the 'big' children at the school, and the kindergarten and first graders are exposed to them as big children." Jefferson school officials expressed hope that by progressing through the school system together, black and white children will escape the self-imposed racial separation which exists to some extent in the high schools.

Most disciplinary problems involving students, according to administrators and teachers, appeared in the junior and senior high schools. These problems seemed to involve lack of motivation, misbehavior, perhaps resulting from excessive free-time, and/or voluntary racial separation.

Some school authorities, including the superintendent, are concerned by what they see in local schools as a "lack of hunger for learning." They fear that too many students are "shortchanging" their futures by not properly preparing themselves for class. This is especially true, they feel, of many black students who do not come from impoverished backgrounds and cannot be classified as disadvantaged.

To meet this problem, the school board is revising the curriculum to make it more "relevant" to students, especially with regard to their post-graduate plans. It is hoped that such new courses as Modern Jazz Workshop, Fix-It-Skills, Salesmanship, Black and White Drama, Black Authors, Physical Science, Ecology, and Environment will help create greater interest in learning in some students.

Student misbehavior is a second subject of concern to school personnel and some parents. Few, if any, incidents appear to be racially motivated. The most serious offenses, according to several school officials, include lighting fires in wastepaper baskets, loitering, and excessive tardiness. One member of the Jefferson administrative team conceded that: "Many parents are dissatisfied with what they view as permissiveness in the junior and senior high schools." A high school teacher reported, however, that the Jefferson students she had encountered were very well mannered and cooperative, especially in comparison to students in a nearby school system where she had previously taught.

School officials credit the principal and the assistant principal for the "vast" improvement in the educational climate at Jefferson Junior High School. In order to alleviate problems which seem to result from excessive free time, study hall periods at the school will be abolished in the coming school year and students will be urged to take elective courses in their place.

A number of teachers and several administrators were disturbed by the general lack of participation of white students in high school activities. It was suggested that "many white students feel themselves outnumbered and therefore tend to withdraw." A black teacher who graduated from Jefferson in 1964 recalled that his black classmates also had withdrawn and declined to participate in extracurricular activities other than sports when they were in the minority 8 years ago.

One high school administrator said that most of the white students who participate in school activities come from families who have lived in the community for some time. These students receive many of the academic laurels awarded each year. He added that the children of the one white school board member continue to participate in school activities. White students new to Jefferson Township tend to have greater difficulty adjusting to the majority black situation in his view.

These students are most often involved in those few interracial incidents which have provoked negative comments about the school system. Although some of them leave Jefferson for majority white school districts, many other whites, some from Appalachia, continue to arrive to replace them.

For various reasons, black and white students sometimes prefer voluntary separatism in the cafeteria or certain clubs. One high school principal said: "Despite this isolation, there is a personal camaraderie that allows for not only peaceful co-existence, but for good-natured kidding."

Successful and Encouraging Patterns

The fact that so many administrators, teachers, and parents singled out financial strain as Jefferson's major problem indicates that racial matters appear largely resolved. Black and white administrative teams, both on the superintendent's staff and in the schools themselves, reportedly worked well together to resolve problems and improve the quality of education.

At the beginning of the 1971–72 school year, the superintendent developed a number of educational goals and objectives for his office.[4]

Each of these has now been developed and partly implemented. The development of such goals suggests, according to many people interviewed by Commission staff, that Jefferson Township's school leadership knows where it stands and what its problems are and has a "game plan" for overcoming its problems.

School officials are enthusiastic about other innovations such as a new systemwide requirement that each teacher write four or five goals or objectives which he or she will attempt to achieve in a given school year. In turn, a portion of the teacher's evaluation is based on the extent to which these goals were achieved.

The superintendent has sought the advice of manpower officers in private industry for the purpose of developing skills that will make graduates employable.[5] He has encouraged graduates who attend college, industrial institutes, and who secure employment to return and appraise their experiences at Jefferson in light of their various situations. Through these efforts, school officials learned that the high school has a good mathematics program which enables a number of college students to be exempted from freshman mathematics. On the other hand, returning students have reported weaknesses in language arts, so a decision was made to put extra emphasis on this part of the academic program.

In the area of curriculum and guidance, other thoughtful innovations have been introduced. Although Ohio State law does not mandate kindergarten attendance, parents in Jefferson Township are encouraged to send their 4 and 5-year olds to the prekindergarten and kindergarten programs at Blairwood School where they are introduced to a beginning reading program. From that program, the children move to formal reading. Approximately 80 percent of the eligible children attend kindergarten and are transported one way. In 1972–73, two-way transportation will be provided in an effort to ensure 100 percent enrollment, since children who have not had these early experiences tend to lag behind, beginning with the first grade.

At the third and fourth grade levels, students who have no reading disabilities are encouraged to read a wide range of materials for the purpose of gaining knowledge and cultivating interests rather than striving for higher achievement. The township board has moved from a policy of evaluating student achievement by groups to one of developing a profile of each student's strengths and weaknesses.

In an effort to encourage participation and interaction of parents in the community, particularly across racial lines, the administration planned a series of Parents' Seminars during the summer months of 1972. Parents were asked to help develop mechanisms for dealing with a number of school problems including racial frictions. Such determined and imaginative efforts to provide the highest possible quality of integrated education system reportedly persuaded at least

[4] "Goals and Objectives of the Superintendent" Jefferson Township Local School District, Sept. 1, 1971.

1. Develop and evaluate job descriptions for all administrators, counselors, and clerical personnel;
2. Develop and implement guidelines on adult and student responsibilities relative to student achievement and welfare;
3. Develop guidelines on coping with student discipline and due process;
4. Improve the procedure of channeling and reporting to principals on request for educational equipment, materials and supplies.
5. Develop and implement guidelines and tools for cooperative appraisal of teaching performance.

[5] The superintendent said that the high school strives for 100 percent job placement of graduates. From the graduating class of 1971, 51 percent of the students enrolled in college, 27 percent went to technical or trade schools, 35 percent found employment, and 9 percent joined the Armed Forces.

one white couple who recently weighed the pros and cons of moving to Jefferson Township to decide that such a move may positively benefit their children academically while simultaneously enabling them to understand and accept children of other races.

The racial climate within Jefferson Township's schools is reportedly much better than that found in a number of high schools in the Dayton Metropolitan Area. A healthy respect for the local black sheriff apparently serves as a restraining influence on some of the less inhibited students from Jefferson Township as well as mischief-making youths from other communities.

A casual and warm relationship appears to exist between the superintendent, Herman L. Brown, and students of all ages and races in the township who know him by name and chat easily with him. Mr. Brown has demonstrated that he is available to any student, at any hour, in any emergency, particularly if the difficulties involve law enforcement.

The administration has responded to the call for student rights by sponsoring a student jury. Its effectiveness to date has been difficult to measure because all racial and socioeconomic groups have not willingly participated.

In the 1971–72 school year, school officials discovered that some students were registering in Jefferson Township although they continued to live in the city of Dayton, and others were requesting admission on a tuition basis. The Jefferson administration then adopted a policy requiring that the Montgomery County attendance office verify the addresses of all newly arriving students. Because of the shortage of classroom space, the system has refused to accept nonresidents on a tuition basis.

PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN LEON COUNTY, TALLAHASSEE, FLA.

Demographic Facts

Leon County, extending over 670 square miles in north Florida, has increased in population from 74,000 in 1960 to 103,000 in 1970, a gain of 29,000 or 39 percent. The black population, 24,282 in 1960, increased to 26,021 by 1970, a gain of more than 7 percent. During this same period there was a 61.6 percent population increase in urban areas and a 3.3 percent population decrease in the rural sections of the county.[1]

Tallahassee, the county seat and capital of Florida, and its environs constitute the smallest metropolitan area in population in the State. The rapid population growth is related to Tallahassee's function as the capital of the State and to the presence of Florida A&M and Florida State Universities. White immigration has been substantial but the emigration of rural blacks from Leon County accounts for the decline in percentage of the minority population.[2]

[1] Table 9. Population and Land Area of Counties: 1970 and 1960 U.S. Bureau of the Census of Population: 1970 Number of Inhabitants Final Report (PC(1)–All Florida.)

[2] Table 3, Components of Population Change by Race: 1970 and 1960. U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1970, General Demographic Trends for Metropolitan Areas, 1960 to 1970, Final Report PHC (2)–11 Fla.:

History of School Desegregation in Leon County

On November 17, 1961 a group of black parents petitioned the Leon County School Board to adopt a plan that would begin to desegregate the public schools. When no such plan was forthcoming, the parents instituted a civil law suit. (*Steele et al.* v. *Board of Public Instruction of Leon County, Florida.*)[3] On February 28, 1963, the court ruled that the county was operating a dual school system in violation of the 14th amendment.

A new plan, proposed by the school board in April 1963, was strongly opposed by the plaintiffs on the grounds that it unfairly placed the burden of desegregation upon the black community by requiring its members to transfer to white schools. The April 1963 plan provided for the transfer, or reassignment, of students in any district who wanted to attend a school other than that to which he or she had been initially assigned. To the petitioners, this was a named "open door" assignment policy which placed no burden on the school system itself to take any affirmative steps to dismantle the dual system but continued to place the entire responsibility upon the black community.

[3] Civil Action No. 854, U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Florida, Tallahassee Division

TABLE 3

Leon County, Fla.	Population		Change		Component of Change			
							Net Migration	
	1970	1960	Number	Percent	Births	Deaths	Number	Percent
Total population	103,047	74,225	28,822	38.8	17,705	5,739	16,856	35.7
Inside central city	71,897	48,174	23,783	49.2	11,401	3,808	16,180	33.5
Outside central city	31,150	28,051	5,099	19.6	6,304	1,931	726	2.6
White	76,525	49,816	26,709	53.6	11,500	3,256	13,435	37.1
Inside central city	53,235	32,215	21,020	65.2	7,400	2,174	15,750	40.0
Outside central city	23,290	17,001	5,080	32.3	4,061	1,032	2,896	15.2
Negro and other races	26,522	24,400	3,113	6.7	6,205	2,483	−1,309	−6.6
Inside central city	18,662	15,050	2,703	10.9	3,992	1,694	943	2.2
Outside central city	7,860	8,450	−590	−7.0	2,213	849	−1,954	−29.1

Despite numerous appeals and motions by the plaintiffs, this system of transfers was maintained by the school system until May 1967 when the Federal district court entered an order requiring that the school system desegregate pursuant to a freedom-of-choice plan.[4]

On January 23, 1969, the court ordered the school district to adopt a plan consistent with the Supreme Court's ruling in *Green* v. *County School Board of New Kent County,*[5] which required the school board to take prompt and effective action to eradicate its dual school system.

In May 1969, the district court approved a plan which retained freedom-of-choice at the elementary and junior high schools, contemplated the continued operation of seven all-black elementary schools, and provided no specifics on how or when faculty integration would be achieved.

Upon further appeal, the district court was ordered by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on December 12, 1969 to order submission of a plan for complete student and faculty desegregation by February 1, 1970. A supplemental order of the Court of Appeals, issued January 8, 1970, then authorized a delay of pupil desegregation until September 1970.

This order was followed by a January 30, 1970 order of the district court[6] which finally directed the school board to: (1) immediately desegregate faculty, other staff, and transportation; (2) complete the necessary alteration of records and assignment of students for their transfer at the beginning of the September 1970 school year, according to the plan prepared by the Florida School Desegregation Center at the University of Miami; and (3) allow a minority transfer policy.[7]

CURRENT PLAN

Implementation

During the late sixties, Leon County school administrators and teachers participated in several workshops on integration problems, sponsored both by the school district and Florida State University. In addition to these workshops which sought to develop positive attitudes toward integration, a new Institute on Black Studies encouraged participants to integrate black studies material into existing American History courses. As part of this 6-week program, 17 social studies teachers were sent to black universities to be taught black studies by black professors. The participants then prepared a curriculum guide and designed a new course in minority culture which focused on blacks, Indians, and other minorities.

During the 1969–70 school, despite years of court action, three elementary schools remained 100 percent black, two were 98 percent black, and two were 93 percent and 33 percent black respectively. Two of the seven high schools also remained all-black.

To remedy this situation, the local school board requested the Florida School Desegregation Center at the University of Miami to prepare a new desegregation plan. The board's request followed the court of appeals' decision of December 12, 1969, which overturned the district court's acceptance of a freedom-of-choice plan.[8]

A new plan was, therefore, designed. Implementation of it in September 1970 eliminated the all-black schools. Five of the 29 schools remained about 50 percent black. The enrollment systemwide was 34.7 percent black in 1970 showing a decrease from 36.1 percent in 1968.

The new plan prepared by the Desegregation Center, recommended by the board, and finally accepted by the court was based on redrawing of school zones. It did not recommend pairing nor did it lead to an increase in pupil transportation. Under it, each child was assigned to the school in his residential zone with the exception of the majority-to-minority transfer policy required by the court. The plan required reassignment of teachers, administrators, and aides to adjust the staff at each school at a ratio of about 70 percent white and 30 percent black. The plan did not recommend the closing of any school.

On June 29, 1970, however, the court ordered a special committee of architects, composed of one plaintiff's representative, one defendant's representative, and a third person selected by both groups, to appraise existing physical conditions at Lincoln Elementary, an all-black school with 682 students in the

[4] See note 3 p. 43.

[5] 390 U.S. 430 (1968).

[6] *Steele* v. *Board of Public Instruction of Leon County,* 421 F. 2d 1382.

[7] Under this policy, school systems may (1) permit any student to transfer from a school where students of his race are a majority to any other school within the system where students of his race are a minority, or (2) assign students on such basis.

[8] *Steele et al.* v. *Board of Public Instruction of Leon County, Florida,* 421 F. 2d 1382.

1969–70 school year, to determine whether the building was safe for occupancy. One part of the facility was declared unsafe by the committee, and another part was found to require prohibitively expensive renovations.[9]

The school board chairman agreed to close the school since more than a half million dollars would have been required for renovation and its deficiencies were aggravated by inadequate playground space. The chairman concluded that "the school should have been closed two years earlier, even though it is honest to say that integration required that such a decision be made now."

The closing of Lincoln Elementary modified the enrollments at other city elementary schools as originally proposed by the Desegregation Center. Since 1968, two middle schools and four new elementary schools have been constructed to replace those black and white schools with overcrowded and inadequate facilities.[10]

The present plan divides the county and the city of Tallahassee as one might slice irregular wedges of cheese. The plan provides for the integration of students from the inner-city and the various concentric areas of the city so that all racial and socioeconomic groups are included in each zone. The wedge-shaped zones are effectively used for the middle schools, the high schools, and most of the elementary schools.[11]

The white enrollments in Bond, Pineview, Hartsfield, and Western Elementary Schools were lower than originally estimated by plan designers because some white parents chose to enroll their children in private schools or moved to another area of the city.[12] Thus, there were still four predominantly black schools in operation in May 1972 in Tallahassee and one in the northeastern rural and predominantly black area of the county.[13]

Faculty Transfers

The school district retained most black professionals while implementing the new plan. Faculties at each school were to be about 70 percent white and 30 percent black.

Prior to 1969 there were nine black principals in Leon County. Of these, one was in the senior high school, two in junior high schools, and six in elementary schools. As of May 1972, there still were nine black principals in the system. Two were middle school principals and seven were elementary school principals. The black former principal of Lincoln High School had moved to the superintendent's office as director of data systems and research. An *ad hoc* committee of four blacks and four whites was established to guide faculty transfers.

In reassigning teachers, no one was assigned to a position more than one grade above or below his previous assignment, with the exception of two volunteers. The committee considered requests for changes in the first assignments and submitted recommendations on each appeal to the superintendent and the board.

Both black and white faculties now appear to be pleased with the rearrangement although some are disturbed that there is no black head coach in any of the three high schools. After the closing of Lincoln High School, there have reportedly been no openings for a head coach at the other three high schools. The former head football coach at Lincoln has since become head coach at Florida A&M University. One top administrator said he is convinced that if a head coaching slot does become vacant, efforts to find a black will be fully pursued as loss of the athletic traditions of the Lincoln School remains a highly sensitive point within the black community.

Transportation

While the total student enrollment had increased from 19,906 in 1968 to 21,022 in 1970, the number of students transported decreased due to the more

[9] Lincoln Elementary School Report, Sanford M. Goldman, Pearce L. Barrett, Mark Schwizer submitted to Federal District Court, Tallahassee Division July 31, 1970, in *Steele* v. *Leon County School Board,* Civil Action No. 854.

[10] Concord Elementary School, however, which is still in use in the eastern corner of the county, has an integrated staff and student body but still suffers from an old and inadeqate facility. A first grade teacher told a Commission staff member that children frequently got splinters in their feet from the bare floor, and her numerous requests for a rug were finally met with a small surplus throw rug from another school. Concord Elementary may be in need only of replacement or major renovation but is in marked contrast to the other excellent facilities of the school system.

[11] Figure 1 illustrates how zoning has been employed to obtain racial comparability in the schools.

[12] Interview with Dr. James Beck, Assistant Director of Florida School Desegregation Center at Tallahassee, May 4, 1972.

[13] Within the city, Bond Elementary School 85 percent; Charles Elementary School 52 percent; Pineview Elementary School 68 percent; Nims Middle School 53 percent; and Concord Elementary School 81 percent in the rural area.

efficient routing of buses provided by the plan. Prior to adoption of the plan, 8,897 students were transported at public expense, and this number declined to 8,482 when the plan was implemented. "White flight" was not considered a factor in the smaller number of students transported because the system's total white student enrollment had reached 13,656 (65 percent), a numerical and percentage increase from 12,661 (63.6 percent) in 1968.

Miles traveled by the school buses on one-way morning trips decreased from 8,409 to 7,523 after the plan's implementation. The 70 buses in the fleet were able to meet new requirements without additional buses.

Operating costs have been growing over the years because of increased prices of labor, maintenance, and supplies, but transportation personnel said that the plan was not responsible for the rise in these costs.[14]

Uniquely, many Leon County parents have requested more busing rather than its elimination. Both black and white parents have asked for transportation for elementary students who would otherwise have to walk in areas of heavy traffic. The board has complied with these requests, with a consequent increase both in the number of students transported from 8,482 to 8,616, in the number of miles from 7,523 to 8,347, and in the number of buses from 70 to 76 as of May 1972.

According to the county transportation officer, the average ride covers about 4 to 5 miles and takes about 30 minutes. The longest ride is 25 miles as it was before adoption of the plan.

White Flight

Some people, reportedly fearing that integration would adversely affect the quality of education in Leon County, have placed their children in private schools, according to the board chairman whose children all attend public schools.[15] School officials assert that the number of whites fleeing public schools is negligible, so negligible that it has not stopped the continuing annual increase in the number of white students attending public schools.

The flight of families to avoid integration is not entirely regretted by the school officials as it has reduced overcrowding in some schools. One school official said that the transfers to nonpublic schools did not hinder the public school system. In fact, he added: "White flight might have been good because it got rid of all the dyed-in-the-wool segregationists." [16] The board chairman, however, made the point that:

> [white flight] has probably hurt to an extent—as long as you have an element in the community that is going to stay on the segregated bandwagon, it is going to be bothersome to the community.

The chief complaints of white parents who withdrew their children from Bond Elementary School (which has the lowest percentage of white students in the city schools) were: (1) hazardous traffic conditions faced by children on the way to school and (2) fears that black children would physically abuse the outnumbered white children.[17]

Few white parents expressed any misgivings that the quality of education offered at the Bond School was below that of other schools. School officials reported that students are now returning to the public schools in increasing numbers. The assistant principal of Godby High School said: "We have probably picked up 50 returns (from nonpublic schools) this year."

Opposition to the Plan

The long history of a school desegregation litigation case in Leon County demonstrated lengthy community resistance to integration. After the Florida Desegregation Center presented its desegregation plan, no opposition to it was raised by the board or school administrators. What opposition did exist in the community was not expressed in demonstrations, boycotts, or threats of violence. None of the administrators interviewed by Commission staff had been threatened. No acts of violence were reported in connection with opposition to the plan.

According to the board chairman, there was some resistance in January 1970 (primarily from the white community but also from the black community) with

[14] Interview with Johnie G. Coggins, Acting Director of Transportation, Leon County Schools, Tallahassee, Fla., May 5, 1972. The operating cost for pupil transportation incurred by the school district over the past 4 school years is as follows: 1968—$264,921; 1969—$280,910; 1970—$320,239; and 1971—$323,158 (as of May 30, 1972.)

[15] Precise nonpublic school enrollment statistics are not available.

[16] Interview with Dr. Freeman Ashmore, Superintendent, Leon County School District, Tallahassee, Fla., May 4, 1972.

[17] Interview with Walter Seabrooks, Principal, Bond Elementary School, Leon County School District, Tallahassee, Fla., May 5, 1972.

regard to the new zoning which, in some cases, prevented children of both races from attending the schools they had attended under the previous plan. Parents who lived near one school were upset when their children were assigned to a school farther away.

Some students who lived only three blocks from Brevard Elementary were assigned to Bond, 15 blocks away. Most of the children near the Bond School were assigned to three different schools at a greater distance. Students who lived more than one block away from Bond, if their homes were to the south, east, or west of the school, were assigned to schools as far as 18 blocks away.[18]

A student living on Main street just two blocks from Bond therefore had to attend Hartsfield, 2 miles distant. Since the new zoning did spotlight certain traffic hazards for students walking to school, the school board added five buses to reduce this danger.

Many in the black community, including several school administrators, oppose the closing of Lincoln School. As one of two black high schools prior to desegregation, Lincoln was a source of pride and tradition in the black community. It had been converted to an elementary school in 1969, and many residents complained that the closing of the school ignored the sensitivities and needs of the black community. Black parents from the Lincoln neighborhood objected to the closing because their children had to travel further. They complained that the burden fell more heavily on their children than on white children.

Many white parents were reluctant to place their children in formerly black schools because they were unfamiliar with the schools, faculty, and the condition of the buildings.[19] The school administrators dealt with this concern by inviting parents to visit the schools, to talk to faculty members, and inspect school facilities. A number of parents accepted the invitation and, in most cases, were persuaded to give the new plan the benefit of any doubts. Many parents became involved and have remained involved in PTA groups.

Two years after implementation of the plan, the superintendent summarized the situation in Leon County: "There are still some resisters—but we have more parents who are willing to accept change than those who are not." Most school administrators felt that local newspaper and radio coverage hindered the desegregation effort, while television, particularly the educational station, was helpful. Some school officials expressed annoyance at radio and newspaper reporting which seemed to exaggerate racial incidents in order to "make a story" regardless of its effect on the community. An example of this overreaction involved a radio reporter who had overheard a police radio call to pick up a student at a school. Although the incident in which the student was involved was purely personal, had not occurred at the school, and was entirely unrelated to the school, the station's rebroadcast of the call seemed to suggest that a riot at the school required immediate police intervention. This radio story reportedly caused some parents to rush to the school to get their children. The board chairman commented philosophically on such media coverage by remarking: "If a newspaper printed good news it would go out of business—the newspaper business is bad news."

CURRENT SITUATION

Integration Within the Schools

In many cases, black and white students have had to learn to adjust to each other after their racial isolation in heavily segregated schools. Some friction has occurred between students of opposite races.

In several high schools, student human relations committees were formed to welcome new students, help smooth the transition, and to handle potential problems. Such foresight and helpfulness bore fruit in what one teacher called the "flag and fist controversy." Certain white students had been prominently displaying the Confederate flag on their clothing, books, and automobiles. Black students responded by similarly displaying the Black Power fist emblem. Tension increased. Student members of the school's human relations committee and key faculty members, black and white, brought the leaders of the contending groups to join in a discussion of the situation.

The discussion lasted an entire day, and both sides, conceding that their emblems could unnecessarily antagonize other students, agreed not to wear or display them any longer. The assistant principal felt that this negotiated solution revealed a generally flexible student attitude.

A white student at another school mentioned another influence on student attitude. "Both groups are kind of scared of each other", she said. "Neither is sure how to act. But they are equally scared. Maybe the whites are a little more scared."

[18] Figure 1 shows these zones and the locations of the schools.

[19] Interview with Broward P. Davis, Chairman, Leon County School Board, Tallahassee, Fla., May 4, 1972.

One student leader was convinced that interracial student understanding and trust is increasing. Rickards High School, with an enrollment of 56 percent white and 44 percent black students, this year elected black students to be president, vice president, and secretary of the student council. Last year a black student lost the presidency by only five votes even though some of the black students were boycotting the election for reasons which remain unclear.

Discipline, Disruptions, and Violence

There are no monitors in the schools or on the buses, an indication that unusual disruptions or serious discipline problems have not accompanied desegregation. Parking lot attendants were hired in May 1972 to insure that students attend classes rather than loiter in their automobiles. School authorities have avoided possible clashes in student assemblies by restricting their number, although most students and teachers would prefer more assemblies.

The black president-elect of the Rickards Student Council said: "I promised [during my campaign] to establish a discipline committee to deal with students who have broken up assemblies so that we can have more assemblies. The students have to take care of these problems because we are the best ones to do it."

Since the plan did not create violence or disruptions in the schools, monitors, who were available, were not necessary. Some minor incidents occurred but they were not significant racial clashes. Credit for this was attributed to the enlightened leadership of the administration, some cooperative students, and faculty members at each school.[20]

Students and faculty of Rickards said that modular scheduling,[21] with its free time and increased student mobility, makes possible the rumor spreading and thereby creates more problems than integration or busing. One such incident involved a classroom discussion group following the showing of the film, "A Raisin In The Sun." The teacher reportedly lost control of the discussion, insults were exchanged, and one student slapped another. The quarrel was then carried into the halls, and other fights broke out. Police were called and remained in the school for half a day. Two days of high tension followed but no student was injured. The recently elected black student council president seems justified in saying that interracial communication is good now and getting better.

Teacher and Parent Attitudes

Interviews with Leon County staff revealed that white and black professionals of the school system are almost without exception pleased with the overall performance of their colleagues in desegregated conditions. They are proud of the success of the desegregation plan and the fact that students seem to be learning well and are relatively tranquil. Student and teacher morale in the system is apparently high. The board is confident that stabilization will continue and that its educational programs will become increasingly successful.

Black and white faculty members were pleased that no teacher had been displaced by the plan. They believe that the workshops, PTA meetings, and improved teacher performance were instrumental in ensuring a smooth transition. Black principals, assistant principals, and deans were satisfied with their acceptance as professionals by their white colleagues.[22]

The great majority of parents have now accepted the plan, according to the board chairman and superintendent. Many white parents with children in predominantly black schools are involved in those schools' PTAs and vigorously support various meetings, fairs, and other get-togethers to bring people into the schools and to raise funds for extra school materials.[23]

Most persons interviewed felt that the community has greatly benefited from the presence in Tallahassee of the two universities, Florida A&M and Florida State, and from cooperation by the State government. One school official said that these institutions have helped attract outstanding teachers to the school system and have also influenced the entire community to adopt a broader viewpoint on civil affairs. Similarly

[20] Interview with Roland White, President Elect of Student Council, Godby High School, Tallahassee, Fla., May 3, 1972.

[21] Modular scheduling divides each day into "modules" or units of time. The scheduled class time of each student is divided among large group sessions (50–150), small group sessions (12–15), regular sized class sessions, and laboratory work. There are also times during the day when a student is not scheduled for a specific class. During this part of the day the student is free to pursue the areas of study that have been directed by his teachers or that may interest him or her. The student can also choose to waste his unscheduled time.

[22] Interviews with Luther H. Williams, Principal, Riley Elementary School and Freeman Lawrence, Director of Data Systems and Research, Leon County School District, Tallahassee, Fla., May 4, 1972.

[23] Interviews with Luther H. Williams, *id.*; Walter Seabrooks, Principal, Bond Elementary School, Tallahassee, May 5, 1972.

the presence in the State capital of a popular, moderate Governor who has urged goodwill and patience on the busing issue may also have contributed to a more thoughtful and reasoned attitude in the community. Successful implementation of the plan should not be surprising, according to the black Mayor-Commissioner of Tallahassee, because the city and county have never had hardcore racial problems or clashes.

Location of Low-Rent Housing Projects

School officials expressed alarm at the construction of large low-rent housing projects in school zones that already have a high proportion of black residents. It was feared that most of these projects would be occupied by black families, a development which would affect housing patterns and school integration. A 150-unit project has been constructed close to Hartsfield Elementary School. Another large project may be built near the Riley Elementary School, which has a current enrollment of 50 percent black and 50 percent white.

The possible adverse effect of these projects on school desegregation has prompted the school superintendent to place his administrative assistant on the Leon County Planning Committee which selects sites for such projects. He fears, however, that the existing housing patterns will influence school assignment zones negatively for long future periods. The low-rent projects and other similar housing trends may well compel the redrawing of several elementary school attendance zones in the near future, he has stated.

Conclusion

Leon County's relative success in desegregating its schools does not appear accidental, but rather the result of determined efforts by administrators, teachers, and parents both black and white. School staffs in Leon County were integrated without the displacement of black professionals that has marred the implementation of desegregation plans in many other cities. The plan permitted reduction in the number of students bused and in the number of miles traveled.

The transition has not been free of difficulties. The plan's use of strictly contiguous zones was not as successful as hoped for in the inner-city elementary schools. "White flight" has made the integration of formerly all-black inner-city schools more difficult. The black student population in these predominantly black attendance zones is further concentrated by the construction of low-income housing projects. Substantial adjustments in the zones may be necessary to achieve full desegregation of the remaining predominantly black schools. School officials give every indication, however, of their determination to overcome these obstacles and to ensure quality integrated education for all students in Leon County.

Elementary School Attendance Zones, Tallahassee, Fla.

Astoria Park, Sealey, Timberlane, Riley, Ruediger, Bevard, Sullivan, Sabal Palm, Hartsfield, Pineview, Bond, Wesson, and Oakridge.

PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN MOORE COUNTY, N.C.

Moore County is located in south-central North Carolina and covers an area of 760 square miles. It is a part of the tobacco belt and is situated about 80 miles from the three largest cities in the State. They are Charlotte, Greensboro, and Raleigh, the State capital. The largest town in the county is Southern Pines with a population of 5,937. The population of Moore County in 1970 was 39,048, of whom 9,906 residents were nonwhite. The school population is 10,162 of whom 67 percent or 6,800 are white and 32.5 percent or 3,307 are black. Fifty-three Indians comprise 0.5 percent of the school population.

Moore County, especially Southern Pines, is a popular tourist and retirement center containing 19 golf courses and offering a wide variety of outdoor sports. The county is the site of the Golf Tournament of the World and the Stoneybrook Steeplechase.

In addition to recreation and tourism, agriculture, textiles, tobacco, and furniture making provide important sources of income. The median family income for 1970 was $6,834 and the median income for blacks, $4,322.[1] Smaller towns in the county include Aberdeen, Carthage, Pinebluff, Pinehurst, Robbins, Southern Pines, Vass, West End, and Whispering Pines.

History of Desegregation in Moore County

Until the fall of 1965, Moore County had maintained separate schools for black and white students. Indians attended white schools. In April 1965, a freedom-of-choice plan was adopted by the district consistent with the Title VI guidelines of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.[2] Unlike many freedom-of-choice plans, this plan permitted students to choose only between those schools within certain attendance zones and not those schools located throughout the school system. Students could choose to attend either all-black or formerly all-white schools. At that time 85 blacks chose to attend previously all-white schools. All the white students chose to attend white schools.

In September 1965, Moore County received a letter from HEW approving its plan, but noting that the Moore County school situation would be subject to periodic review.

On March 21, 1966 the school board [3] unanimously adopted a motion requiring black students at the Davis and Pinckney schools in grades 1–12 in Areas I and II [4] to attend nearby white schools for the 1966–67 school year.

In 1967 Moore County successfully combined three administrative units [5]—the Pinehurst City Schools, Southern Pines City Schools, and the County Schools which resulted in further desegregation.

In February 1968, HEW informed the board that Moore County was in probable noncompliance with the requirements of Title VI and would have to submit a new plan to eliminate the dual school system completely by the opening of the 1968–69 school year unless there were compelling administrative reasons

[1] Bureau of the Census, 1970, General Social and Economic Characteristics, U.S. Department of Commerce.

[2] Revised Statement of Policies For School Desegregation Plans under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Sec. 601 provides: "No person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."

[3] The Moore County School Board is made up of eight members. All are white and five are college graduates. The previous five member school board was enlarged when the city units merged with the county system in the consolidation of administrative units.

[4] There are three geographically-based school areas in Moore County. Each contains one high school and approximately five elementary and middle schools. Union Pines High is in Area I (Eastern) North Moore High in Area II (Northwestern), and Pinecrest High in Area III (Southern).

[5] In North Carolina, an administrative unit is equivalent to a school district or school system.

to postpone this until 1969–1970. In June 1968, HEW staff reviewed the Moore County System and found that four all-black schools still existed in Area III and that no white full-time classroom teachers were serving in those schools. They also found that the county still maintained, at least in Area III, a dual transportation system.

A plan was devised by the board to consolidate all seven high schools in Area III into Pinecrest High School by September 1969. Under this plan the remaining elementary schools in Area III would also be desegregated in September 1969 through the use of pairing.[6] In addition, one small white elementary school [Eagle Spring] was closed.

With the consolidation of three black and four white schools into the new Pinecrest High School, Superintendent Robert E. Lee assured HEW that complete desegregation would be achieved in Moore County. He said the county now had a unitary system, completely desegregated in regard to students, staff, faculty, transportation, extracurricular activities, and facilities. This, he said, had been accomplished through closing two formerly black schools and one formerly white school and by building three new comprehensive high schools in order to accommodate the consolidation of schools in the three areas.

Despite the superintendent's assertion, HEW informed the district in the summer of 1971, that some schools did not have adequate minority student representation. A plan to correct the problem providing for additional school transportation was submitted in October 1971 and accepted by HEW in May 1972.

The Current Plan

The revised plan for establishing a unitary, desegregated system called for some noncontiguous pairing, feeder pattern changes,[7] and the alteration of school attendance areas. A total of 504 students [201 whites and 303 blacks] and 12 of 19 schools was involved. The student racial makeup of each school was substantially the same as the county ratio, 67 percent white and 33 percent black and Indian. The transfer of 25 teachers was necessary to provide a similar faculty ratio in each school.

On May 2, 1972, adjacent Montgomery County and Moore County agreed that public transportation would no longer be available to convey Moore County students to Montgomery County Schools. Superintendent Lee announced that the new policy was being inaugurated to prevent excessive travel for students and had nothing to do with race.

In addition to the three high schools in the three areas of Moore County, there are now 16 elementary and middle schools and kindergarten classes are held in some schools.

The three comprehensive high schools house grades 9–12. They were built in 1964, 1965, and 1969 respectively, according to the same basic plan, and are modern, attractive, and spacious.

The assistant superintendent of schools reported that the county has applied for all possible Federal assistance and has received nearly all the grants sought. This aid is primarily used for school programs involving such areas as libraries, kindergartens, occupational classes, and reading. Pinecrest High School was funded under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Act (ESEA).[8] The district receives 67 percent State support, 16 percent county support, and 17 percent Federal support.

School Personnel

Before desegregation there were four black principals, two of whom served at union schools (grades 1–12) and two of whom served at elementary schools.

Immediately following integration three elementary schools were headed by black principals and one black was appointed assistant principal of Pinecrest High School. He has recently been elevated to the position of principal following the resignation of the white principal. There are now four black principals in Moore County, three at the elementary level and one at the secondary level.

The county has 76 percent white teachers and 24 percent black and similar percentages for its total professional staff. The county follows a policy of replacing black teachers who resign with other black teachers and the same policy is followed when white teach-

[6] See footnote 2, at i.

[7] See footnote 2, at i.

[8] Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provides in Section 301: "The Commissioner (of Education) shall carry out a program for making grants for supplementary educational centers and services, to stimulate and assist in the provision of vitally needed educational services not available in sufficient quantity or quality, and to stimulate and assist in the development and establishment of exemplary elementary and secondary school educational programs to serve as models for regular school programs." (20 U.S.C. 841) enacted Apr. 11, 1965, P.L. 89–10, Title III, Sec. 301, 79 Stat. 39.

ers resign. There is one black professional in the central office so blacks have a limited role in administrative decisionmaking in the school board offices.

Early in the desegregation process, countywide workshops funded through a Federal grant under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 were held for teachers. These aided the desgregation process and helped to prepare teachers for integration.[9] One such institute dealt with correct terminology in communicating with students of other races. Other programs under Title IV have included inservice training for teachers assigned to Pinecrest to develop individualized instruction techniques and inservice meetings for elementary teachers to discuss their role in desegregation.

Several schools in Moore County have undertaken innovative educational programs such as team teaching, individualized instruction, flexible scheduling,[10] and the elimination of textbooks in favor of audiovisual materials. These types of programs, according to local school officials, have value, not only for the students in general, but especially for students at the lower levels of the learning scale.

Superintendent Lee reported: "Fifteen years ago people felt black teachers were inferior and would not be able to teach whites. Board members were therefore taken to classrooms to watch the teaching, and children started telling parents about good black teachers. Then the convinced parents accepted the situation."

Some teachers and principals observed that teachers of one race are often uncomfortable with students of other races, although only one student reported that he thought teachers did not treat everyone fairly. A black teacher at Aberdeen Middle School felt that some white teachers are "clearly uncomfortable on occasion with poor, black students." A principal stated that some white teachers appear unable to relate to black students, but he insisted that "they are not necessarily racists." A black teacher complained: "White teachers are prejudiced. One reportedly told a black child he should go to his own school. One teacher called the children 'niggers' and never referred to them by their own names. After some people talked with her, she now calls the children by their names."

Commission staff was told that black teachers at High Falls and Westmore Elementary Schools were initially apprehensive about their acceptance since the surrounding neighborhoods were only 10 percent black and Moore County and adjoining counties had strong Ku Klux Klans organizations. Despite their anxiety, the teachers have apparently been accepted and now interact successfully with people in the area.

Most black and white teachers reported that the atmosphere is relaxed in their schools and that they feel comfortable teaching in integrated situations. A black teacher at Carthage Elementary said: "I like the working conditions at the school because there is no pressure, which makes it easier to teach. Students are likable, needed materials are available, and teachers are given leverage to use the programs they choose in the classroom."

One school official said that his daughter has a black math teacher who is, in her opinion, the best teacher she has ever had. Another white student reportedly told his black teacher: "You may be colored but you sure know how to teach. The color of the skin doesn't have a thing to do with the way a person teaches. I have enjoyed having you as my English teacher this year."

Biracial teams recruit teachers from 27 colleges and universities—five of them black—in the State.

Community Reactions to Desegregation

Immediate public reaction to both consolidation and desegregation in Moore County was generally negative. Today, it is mixed. Some persons feel it is working successfully; some are merely resigned to the plan; some do not like it and apparently hope for a return to the segregated system.

The superintendent said:

> In 1965 we could not discuss integration with the public because it was an emotional and deepseated issue. Some residents accused the Board of moving faster than the courts. There was some KKK opposition. But now integration is a dead issue.

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[9] Section 405 of Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provides in part: (a) The Commissioner is authorized, upon application of a school board, to make grants to such board to pay, in whole or in part, the cost of:

(1) giving to teachers and other school personnel inservice training in dealing with problems incident to desegregation, and

(2) employing specialists to advise in problems incident to desegregation.

[10] Flexible scheduling involves adapting a student's schedule to permit shorter or more lengthy class periods for given courses in order (a) to permit additional time and emphasis on a student's weak areas and less time on mastered areas or (b) to permit coverage of material better presented in a longer scheduled period than is normally provided. Time taken from another course can be made up on another date.

One school board member told the Commission:

> As for the reaction in Moore County, there is a feeling of resignation to the inevitable. This governs most people. We don't have a lot of rednecks in my immediate area. We have more of the enlightened people.
>
> Many people in Moore County are convinced in their hearts that black people are simply inferior. It is no more possible to convince them that they are dead wrong than that you can fly without wings. These are tragedies that we have to overcome. Frankly, until some of the old people die off, we are still going to have this problem before us.
>
> White people believe that there is one pattern that fits all black people. They cannot believe that all blacks don't vote and think alike. They do not believe that blacks are capable of independent judgment.

The chairman of the school board said that the move to consolidate was more disturbing than the move to integrate, which took place at the same time. "Today I don't think the problems which people are concerned about have anything to do with integration." Rather, she said, "There is an interest in programs, budget, and beautification. There were quite a few people who opposed integration from the beginning. Some said the program was offensive to them. Now everyone in our area works together, including blacks."

Another member of the school board added:

> It was a lot easier in 1968 than it is now. At that time the national leadership was consistent. It looked like that was the way we had to go and that they were resigned that was the way they would have to go. Boards of Education have it rough now. The resolve of the Nation as expressed by its leaders cannot be underestimated as a strength when making these steps.

A black teacher commented: "Kids have no problems with desegregation; it's the adults." Another teacher believes that many parents are opposed to integration because of busing.

One black teacher thought that very few people in Moore County still hold a negative view of desegregation thanks in part to the positive contribution of student biracial committees in fostering acceptance. "Their involvement was very beneficial," she said, "because, as of today, desegregation has definitely been accepted." She felt that integration has "succeeded" because "many liberal-minded people live in the community."

Southern Pines currently has 70 volunteer parents working in the high school. A biracial group called Friends of Continuing Education serves in an advisory capacity to the local community and the board of education. Title IV funds sponsored seminars for parents and community leaders to discuss their roles in the successful desegregation of Pinecrest.

White Flight

While the population of Moore County is increasing, the public school population is decreasing. The past 3 years have seen first grade enrollments in the county schools decrease by 26 in 1969, 77 in 1970, and 43 in 1971 with total enrollment 945; 868; and 825 for these 3 years. This represents an average decrease of 5.3 percent per year.

A board member said:

> An important threat to integration is the new private schools. The private elementary schools which existed long before desegregation are not a threat to desegregation. They generally have been an alternative to the academic nature of public schools, but not an integration alternative.

One of the new private schools, Big Oak Christian Academy, is "doing an obviously inferior academic job," according to one board member. "It represents the separatist movement with about 140 students." The majority of Big Oak students come from Montgomery County where some whites refused to attend formerly black schools.

Another school board member declared that the Wallace O'Neal Day School, housing grades 4–6, was recently opened by affluent parents to fight busing and integration. "I know some of the people who have helped in the development of the school, and they are among the more enlightened rednecks." About 36 Moore County students are enrolled here at a cost of $750 a year per pupil.

The board member said that the Episcopal School has been operating for many years and, in his view: "It has been a blessing to the public schools because it has helped relieve congestion. I believe that the ideal pupil-teacher ratio would be 20–1. In this respect, the school has been a help." The Episcopal School has about 60 students and has expanded from K–2 to K–4.

One central office administrator made the following comment about private schools: "Private schools are too expensive. Not because of love, but because of lack of money most whites stay with the public schools."

One board member explained that his children are in public schools because "I want them to live in the real world and contribute to the real world and not to live in an isolated situation. This is how they can be happiest and can contribute most."

Private schools, however, do not wholly account for the decline in public school attendance. Perhaps more

important is the Moore County dropout rate of 20–24 percent in grades 5 through 12. Last year a textile plant transferred some workers from the area which caused their children to leave at least two of the schools. Others who left were children of black tenant farmers who moved from the district.

Integration Within the Schools

Most students reported that they seem to be having very few problems adjusting to integrated schools. Many black and white students said they have formed interracial friendships. A black student who claims quite a few white friends and has dined with one said she was apprehensive about her friend's parents at first, "but everyone relaxed and all went well." She concluded: "Blacks and whites have to get together sometime; it might as well be now."

Prior to full desegregation, a meeting sponsored under Title IV brought together student leaders from the seven high schools subject to consolidation to acquaint them with each other and the new school system.

Most student clubs and sports activities are integrated though there appears to be underrepresentation. Blacks have been participating in all types of extracurricular activities, particularly sports. School administrators believe that black participation in athletics has done much to create friendships and improve relations between black and white students.

A black student from Aberdeen Middle School said: "Desegregation is okay and has presented no problems but most whites stay around each other. I had more fun in segregated school, liked the teachers better, and learned as well, except in math." He noted that if a student got into trouble before, the teacher and principal talked it over with him. At this school, he said: "Students are expelled. Some students don't care about expulsions, but most don't want to be expelled."

At North Moore High School, a biracial human relations committee was organized "but is not too active and doesn't draw many students," according to one student member. She noted that blacks and whites tend to separate at dances and in the school cafeteria. She personally felt that integration is "fine" and is working "to an extent."

Others reported that students often segregate themselves, sitting in isolated groups at ball games and other activities. A teacher observed that "this is not necessarily from racial tension as such, but probably reflects the remaining residue of their past isolation from each other."

A teacher at Carthage Elementary stated that most students mix, "except for two or three racists. One racist in the seventh grade is ostracized by the other students because of his racism. He is not freely chosen for any group activities. This has caused him to modify his racism."

An elementary school teacher told the Commission: "Children are children and they mix well. Race doesn't matter. My major problem is tattling."

As for the feelings of the minority Indian students, a black teacher claimed that:

> Indians are prejudiced against blacks and are marrying whites rather than Indians or blacks. One Indian child in my room does not like blacks and won't sit next to them because he says they smell and are dirty.

Another white teacher, however, said that many Indian students look upon their black classmates as "brothers" and seem able to relate well with them.

A white student at Pinecrest High said that integration is working and everyone is "beginning to understand." A black student added that integration is working in part because the administration is fair. He said he personally "liked the competition."

Transportation

As Moore County is primarily a rural county, pupil transportation has long been necessary.

A bond issue providing for consolidation of regional high schools was passed prior to enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, so consolidation itself had required additional busing well before complete desegregation was announced.

In the school year 1970–71, 6,759 students were transported a total of 1,108,400 miles on 119 buses. The operating cost for student transportation was approximately $255,021. Each morning school buses traveled approximately 5,785 miles transporting 4,725 elementary and 2,034 high school students.

Prior to consolidation, the county operated 102 buses. Following consolidation and desegregation the county added 13 more buses. Last year, four additional buses were purchased with county funds as part of final consolidation in Pinecrest, Area III.

Before and after consolidation the transportation policy provided that all students living 1½ miles or more from schools were eligible for transportation.

Before consolidation Moore County had a dual transportation system, one black and one white. Of the

15 high schools, four were all-black. One of these served three-fourths of the county and necessitated long bus routes. Elementary and high school students rode the same buses. The average one way distance was 17½ miles and took about 52 minutes. The longest distance was 44 miles and took 1½ to 1 hour and 50 minutes. The shortest distance was 5 miles and took 20–25 minutes.

With consolidation and total desegregation, the 15 high schools were merged into three high schools to serve the three distinct areas in the county. The longest route became shorter. The county currently has separate transportation for elementary and high school students. The average distance is 20 miles one way and takes 60 minutes. The longest distance is 37½ miles or 1½ hours; the shortest is 13 miles or 30 minutes.

Activity buses are provided to transport students who participate in after school activities. These buses are sponsored by Booster Clubs.

Only three accidents occurred during the school year 1971–72, and no one was injured. There have been minor incidents of vandalism involving damaged seats and broken windows, but these incidents are not necessarily considered racially motivated.

Students said that they had no problems in riding buses, although one said that her bus picked up K–8 children, and "the older children sometimes picked on the younger children and made them cry."

There does not appear to be a great deal of opposition to busing in Moore County. A black teacher said that students have always bused so there is no opposition now.

There are two all-black buses in the morning and one all-black bus in the afternoon caused by residential housing patterns. Several students said they ride all-white buses. Some buses are crowded, others are not. Students drive all the buses.[11]

The school board chairman said that some protests had been received on the busing of students to different schools, based on the argument that this was unkind to children. "Students were bused to Carthage from Robbins, over 20 miles away. But the children are in school, they are doing fine and everybody is fine. Our situation is not comparable [to other school transportation systems] because people know we have to bus."

[11] North Carolina has student bus drivers with just a sprinkling of adults. All drivers are licensed. The qualifications are: (1) Be at least 16 years of age; (2) Have a valid N.C. operator's or driver's license; (3) Pass such tests as may be required by law and prescribed by the Commissioner of Motor Vehicles and State Board of Education. Applicants are required to pass the following tests: (a) Classroom instruction—written or oral tests; (b) Behind-the-wheel instruction—road tests.

Disruptions, Violence, and Crime

Commission staff was told that the number of suspensions had quadrupled in the county since desegregation; however, innovative curricular techniques, rather than the desegregation process, were largely responsible for the increase. Between September 1, 1971 and April 15, 1972, 425 students in the school district were suspended. Of these 230 were black and 195 were white.

A number of students were suspended at Pinecrest High School at the beginning of the 1971–72 school year as the new principal moved to provide more discipline and structure in classroom organization. The school was closed for 2 days early in the year when an incident concerning tryouts for the basketball team allegedly provoked a confrontation between some white and black students. Of 188 students suspended at Pinecrest during the school year, 106 were black. Of 11 expelled, nine were black and all nine were expelled for profanity. Of the white students expelled, one had reportedly struck a black girl on the head with a homemade blackjack, the other had robbed a bank. The principal explained that he considered the behavior of the black students to be as serious as that of the white students. "Both types of offenses were of the same severity," he said. Since the Commission visit, this principal has resigned and the black assistant principal of Pinecrest High School has been made principal.

Plainclothes policemen have been brought to Pinecrest, for trespassers are occasionally a problem on the large campus. After the trouble at the beginning of the school year, parents requested hall monitors. In addition, teachers were assigned to ride the buses. According to the principal, whenever there is hint of impending trouble parents are called to the school so that students can be removed from the campus.

Several teachers agreed with the principal that the trouble at Pinecrest was caused by students having had too much freedom in prior years. Others added that students were unhappy at the lack of gym, auditorium, or cafeteria facilities, construction on which has been delayed for lack of funds. Some thought that the principal's strict disciplinary actions were responsible for the disruptions. In any case, it was difficult to find any student who thought that such problems were racial.

A white cheerleader from another school system was injured in a fight following a ball game. A black male student from Pinecrest High School was identified and charged by the school district. A school hearing comprised of black and white teachers and students cleared the student but the girl's parents took the case to juvenile court and he was found guilty.

At another school a black "sit-out" was staged in 1971 following a student government election in which two black candidates lost. The protestors alleged that black students were not given a fair chance in the election.

At Carthage Elementary School (K–8), four students of whom one was black, were recently suspended for "troublemaking" and 15 (eight blacks and seven whites) have been suspended during the 1971–72 school year. The principal said the usual offenses were "disrespect for teachers" and "fighting." "Such incidents are usually not interracial," he noted.

Despite such incidents, most schools, including Aberdeen Middle School, have had little or no trouble since integration. "Everything has worked out fine here," one principal said.

Classroom Grouping

Students in Moore County schools are grouped both homogeneously and heterogeneously. When they are grouped homogeneously, blacks are often placed in the lower group. One school official said that the accelerated classes are 98 percent white and special education classes are 98 percent black. However, three of the white students in one low achievement English class at Southern Pines High were the sons of very prominent white members in the community.

At Southern Pines Middle School, students are grouped homogeneously in math and language arts and heterogeneously in social studies, science, and health.

A board member told the Commission:

> The reason there is some segregation in the classroom is because the situation which existed [under segregation] precluded the advancement of black students. Until black students have time to catch up, homogeneous grouping will have to occur. In those cases where blacks have had an opportunity they have excelled. The homogeneous grouping is a short-lived thing which will vanish in time. I am not too alarmed about that, because I think you realize that the one with the really good brain should not be held back.

The nongraded primary program at Aberdeen Elementary School, K–3, features open education and team teaching of young children. Learning activities center around math, science, writing reports, and learning activity centers. A teacher reported: "Children learn to work independently and make their own choices. They learn verbal skills and the language experience approach. It's a unique learning experience for poor black and white children."

School Board

Two black candidates recently ran for positions on the school board, according to the superintendent, but they did not campaign against board personalities or policies. Integration was not an issue, and two of the veteran board members who served during the transition are still on the board.

Many of the school personnel reported that the board has always been consistently in favor of integration which has helped to desegregate the system. The Commission staff was told that they recognized from the first the importance of community acceptance of and involvement in the entire desegregation process and stressed their determination to keep the community fully informed about the county and its educational system.

One of the few women school board chairmen in North Carolina stated:

> The basic thing is that we decided the direction we would go, conceived a plan which we thought was good. We have a strong Board; we have a strong administration. The Board has accepted the recommendations of the administration. Once the Board made a decision we stayed with it. The people wondered if they could change our plans and found they could not.

This chairman of the board was also praised for her fairness and politeness in handling all issues connected with consolidation and desegregation. Another board member told the Commission:

> We took a firm position. There was a lot of mumbling and grumbling and undertones of threats, but after you are on the Board a while, you can sift out the wheat from the chaff. We have received many threatening calls, but mostly about not letting us back on the Board.

Another board member said that he ran for the board because of his children:

> At the time we decided to desegregate, it was obvious that things were at a critical stage on whether we were going to make it in the county. I was compelled to run for the Board because my children and all children are my interest. There are people on the Board who honestly and deeply feel that it's right that you give children equal educational opportunity.

In discussing several reasons for the overall success of school integration in Moore County, a board member and the superintendent felt that the Title IV grants received by the county were invaluable in helping prepare teachers for integration. Two-thirds of the county was desegregated following the first Title IV program.

A demographic factor common to the rural South also worked in favor of school desegregation in Moore County. There are no large separated all-white or all-black communities, and this "salt and pepper" or mixed residential pattern made additional busing unnecessary. In fact, school desegregation resulted in less busing. The board member argued that "we could beat them [opponents of busing] to death with that issue."

Student human relations councils, established in all schools, help solve desegregation problems which may arise among students. They have also aided the transition from segregated to desegregated schools.

Staff personnel said they have received steady support from the school board; hence, they feel confident in voicing opinions, knowing that they will not lose their jobs. "They know if they do what's right the board will back them up," said one.

The leading local newspaper, The Pilot, has reportedly played a positive role in the desegregation process. Observers said it has provided "no encouragement for prolonging the agony of segregation."

One candid board member concluded: "There is no question that having a dose of salts, once it's over, helps. In retrospect people are happy with the kind of leadership that pressed on and got it done. Pressing on and getting it done before community attitudes get rigid is important. The people who have delayed and gone to court have made it much harder for themselves and their school systems."

PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN VOLUSIA COUNTY, FLA.

The Volusia County School District is located on the Atlantic coast of Florida and includes the city of Daytona Beach and the smaller communities of Ormond Beach and DeLand, the county seat and home of Stetson University. The county population in 1970 was 169,487; of this number 45,327 lived in Daytona Beach. The black population in the county is approximately 24,330.

Daytona Beach is a resort center, featuring one of the longest beaches in the Nation. A small, liberal arts college, Bethune-Cookman is located here. Daytona Beach's 1960 median family income was $3,986. The median family income in the rest of Volusia County was slightly lower. The median family income for nonwhites in Daytona Beach, where most of Volusia's nonwhite population is concentrated, was $2,756.

The district's student enrollment is currently almost 34,000, of whom about 7,450 are black. The land area covers 1,062 square miles.

History of School Desegregation Efforts

The Federal District Court for the Middle District of Florida (Jacksonville Division) ruled on January 27, 1970 that the desegregation plan then in effect in Volusia County failed to eliminate the dual school system.[1] The court ordered the Volusia County School Board to totally desegregate all of the county's schools by February 1, 1970, by implementing the board's alternative plan, referred to as Plan B–1.[2]

[1] *Tillman* v. *Board of Public Instruction of Volusia County, Florida,* et al. No. 4501–Civ.–J.

[2] This decision ended years of hearings held to effectuate school integration in Volusia County. These hearings had followed a school desegregation suit filed by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. on June 3, 1960 against Volusia County Board of Public Instruction. The board of public instruction is the policy-making body for the school system. At present it is composed of five men, all of them white. There has never been a black member of the board. Board members are elected every 4 years on a county-wide basis.

Background

For most of the decade of the 1960's Volusia County's schools operated under various freedom-of-choice plans which had left 99 percent of all white students in "white schools" and 60 percent of all black students in "black schools". Until the fall of 1969, the faculty and student body of seven elementary schools remained all-black. Two junior and senior high schools were also all-black.[3]

To correct this situation, the board implemented its Plan B in September 1969. This plan utilized primarily geographic zoning and pairing to provide further desegregation.[4] Several schools were closed including the Campbell Elementary School, which was located in the core area of Daytona Beach and has been rated by the Florida State Board of Education as unsuitable for elementary education. Volusia Avenue Elementary, which previously served walk-in black elementary pupils exclusively, was converted by the Volusia Board to a racially integrated all-day kindergarten and exceptional child center.

Through other such changes which involved transporting of some students, Plan B resulted in 93.3 percent of all white pupils and 73.3 percent of all black pupils for all grades in all areas of the county attending integrated schools. Under this plan, 5,877 black pupils attended desegregated classes as compared to 2,906 in the 1968–69 school year. At the same time, 23,848 white pupils attended desegregated classes in the 1969–70 school year.

The statistics were different, however, for the specific area of Halifax, consisting of 15 schools in Port Orange, South Daytona, Daytona Beach, Holly Hill, Ormond Beach and immediately adjacent areas on the Atlantic shore of Volusia County, and for the five

[3] Campbell Junior and Senior High was 100 percent black in Daytona Beach, and Southwestern was an all-black junior and senior high in DeLand.

[4] See footnote 2, at i.

schools in the DeLand area, which is located near the western county line, about 22 miles distant from the Halifax area.

Two elementary schools (Bonner and Small) in the Halifax area remained as all-black schools, so that 53.9 percent of the black elementary school children in Halifax attended completely segregated all-black schools. All of the white elementary children in Halifax attended schools integrated to some extent, although six of the 15 schools had fewer than 10 percent black students and one of the six, Tomoka, had only one black pupil out of total enrollment of 497. Port Orange also remained virtually all-white, located a considerable distance from any appreciable number of black families.

The degree of segregation in the DeLand area elementary schools was still greater. There, under Plan B, 74.9 percent of the black elementary children attended the completely segregated and traditionally all-black school, Starke. All of the white elementary school children in DeLand attended integrated schools, although two of the five schools there had fewer than 10 percent black students.

Plan B had drawn a walk-in attendance zone around Bonner and another around Small in Halifax to include the adjacent areas from which, it was projected, those schools would be filled to capacity. A substantial number of students from core areas were thereby excluded from Bonner and Small because of their place of residence. They were not drawn into the attendance zones of the outlying schools nearest to them, which were at capacity and were attended by students of both races from their own attendance zones. Rather, those pupils from the core area were zoned into six transportation islands, from which they were transported to Hurst, Longstreet, Lenox, Riverview, Ortona, and Osceola schools, most of which were located in the predominantly white area near the beach. All but the Hurst school would otherwise have been attended only by white pupils. Nearly all of the core area pupils so transported under Plan B were black, although 18 white children resided in the Hurst island, as did 99 black children. Hurst now became 73 percent black.

Similar results were accomplished by Plan B in the DeLand area, where a walk-in zone drawn around Starke School led to the creation of a transportation island for George Marks School, which was able to accommodate additional pupils. The Marks transportation island embraced a neighborhood in which black residents were dominant and other neighborhoods which were racially mixed, with a slight preponderance of whites. Both white and black elementary school children were therefore transported to George Marks from the Marks island, and black students represented 23 percent of the total enrollment.

The Current Desegregation Plan

On January 27, 1970, the district court ruled that by leaving three of 20 schools in Halifax and DeLand all-black and eight others more than 90 percent white, Plan B perpetuated a dual school system. The court therefore rejected Plan B and an alternate offered by the board, Plan B–2, which it found to be basically similar to Plan B, and ordered the implementation of a plan prepared by the Florida School Desegregation Consulting Center and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW). This Plan, B–1, would, in the court's opinion, effectively eliminate the remaining all-black schools.

The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals sustained the district court's ruling on July 21, 1970 and upheld the lower court's requirement of a "moderate increase in transportation to eliminate all vestiges of the long-standing dual system in all the affected schools." [5]

The appellate court agreed that the only matter in controversy at that point was pupil assignment to those aforementioned elementary schools in Halifax and DeLand.

The board's Plan B–1, implemented February 1, 1970, was designed in part so that, in the board's words: "Principals, teachers, aides and other staff aides who work directly with children at a school are assigned so that in no case would the racial composition of a staff indicate that a school was intended for black or white students." The staff distribution by race in each school was to conform to a ratio of 78 percent white and 22 percent black.[6]

The principal feature of Plan B–1 is that the Small, Bonner, and Starke walk-in zones are restricted, and the additional black pupils displaced are transported to the perimeter schools. White pupils are transported from outlying areas to the Bonner, Small, and Starke Schools. The pupils residing in the Hurst and Marks transportation islands under Plan B are still trans-

[5] *Tillman v. Board of Public Instruction of Volusia County*, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, No. 29180, 430 F.2d. 309 (1970), P. 4.

[6] Report on the Status of Plan B–1 as of September 1970, School Board of Volusia County, Jan. 31, 1971.

ported to Hurst and George Marks, respectively, from the expanded transportation zones created by B–1.

Under Plan B–1, all of the black students and all of the white students were to attend substantially integrated schools, with the racial composition of each school to be predominantly white. The court ruled that county schools should seek enrollments of no fewer than 20 percent or more than 40 percent black pupils. One school, Osceola, which is at the northern extremity of the county and across the Halifax River from the mainland where the black population is located, and several other schools in the southeast would remain nearly all-white in view of the absence of blacks in that region.[7]

Opposition to the Plan

There were three main obstacles to implementation of Plan B–1 on February 1, 1970. First, the prospect of implementing the plan at mid-year, rather than the following fall, evoked a good deal of criticism from teachers and parents. Second, pressure on the board to resist the court order was heightened when a school desegregation decision by a court in Florida's Orange County appeared to accept freedom-of-choice with a majority transfer plan, leaving 15 or 16 schools all-black in that county. Third, the Governor's office threatened to prevent execution of the court order by a last minute petition and brought strong pressures on the board to resist the order.

Plan B–1 involved cross-busing from predominantly black low-income areas to white coastal schools and vice versa and, for this reason, many black and white parents were critical of the plan. Some teachers also opposed cross-busing to and from widely differing socioeconomic neighborhoods. Resistance to the plan was immediately visible. The superintendent and several other administrative leaders were burned in effigy and received telephone threats. Several boycotts resulted immediately. On the first day of desegregation at Bonner, approximately 200 white students failed to appear for classes, and only a very few rode the buses that day.

A major center of black resistance was the Campbell Center in Daytona Beach, formerly an all-black junior-senior high and now a 7th grade center with grades to be added each year until it included grades 7–9. Black students from Campbell were to be bused across town, primarily to Seabreeze and Mainland.

Most city officials and prominent civic leaders remained neutral on the issue, leaving the board with the responsibility for the whole matter. The district's Congressman, who was engaged in a campaign for a U.S. Senate seat, sided with the Governor. Of the media, the Orlando Sentinel opposed Plan B–1, while most other area newspapers, including the Daytona Beach News Journal, were neutral or favorable. The News Journal reportedly lost some subscribers because of its stand, but has since recovered most of them.

While tension was high at first, there were no serious incidents of violence and no major demonstrations against the new plan.

Adoption of the Plan

Consistent with a "Sunshine Law" in Florida which requires that school board meetings be open to the public, the Volusia County Board held open hearings throughout the fall of 1969 to explain its position both on Plan–B, implemented that September, and then Plan B–1, to be implemented on February 1, 1970. These hearings drew large audiences. The board itself had internal disagreements about its proposed policy, but after initial, sharp dispute, it united to approve Plan B–1 unanimously for implementation on February 1 as ordered by the court.

Since February 1, 1970, two board members, the chairman and vice chairman, have been re-elected to office, with the chairman defeating a candidate supported by the local White Citizens' Council in what was considered a good test case of any public backlash. The vice chairman of the board was re-elected without opposition.

The court rejected the Governor's petition for a stay of the order, and despite a last minute Executive order threatening the Volusia Board, that body proceeded to implement Plan B–1.

White Flight

White flight has not been a major problem in the desegregation of Volusia County's schools. A minor exodus to private schools in February 1970 decreased attendance at the three affected schools from 650 to

[7] Port Orange Elementary had 8.3 percent black pupils in May 1972 and Tomoka 16.7 percent black. Edgewater Public and Coronado Beach Elementary Schools are isolated in the southeastern part of the county. Hillcrest and Volusia Avenue Schools, now exceptional child centers, had, as of May 1972, 53.3 percent and 79.5 percent black enrollments, respectively. The board indicated that it is concerned at the lack of white referrals to the latter two schools and is seeking to halt the trend toward heavily black enrollments there.

340. Ten to 12 white families refused to permit their children to attend newly integrated Small.

Most of these families have returned their children to Small, apparently because of the high costs of private schools, and by April 1970, attendance at the three schools had climbed back to 600.

The Daytona Beach Academy was organized to become the principal private school, enrolling about 400 students in grades 1–3. It has since added grades 4–8, but only 135 of the county's students attend the Academy today. Five parochial schools continue to operate today as they did before February 1, 1970, with perhaps a slight increase in student enrollment since the February 1970 desegregation. A military school has since closed for lack of support.

Attempts To Ease Adjustment of Studies in the Integrated Schools

Preparation for desegregation had begun well before the court order. Volusia County had received three grants under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—$350,000 for the 1965–66 school year; $160,000 for the 1966–67 school year; and $75,000 for the period January 1968 to March 1969. These funds were used for "a comprehensive, countywide program to identify and solve problems of school desegregation by furthering Personal Responsibility for Individual Development through the Education of Teachers."[8] The 3-year effort was known as Program PRIDE. At its peak, the Volusia County program included a desegregated demonstration center, a reading center for teacher training, variable instructional service teachers[9] (VIS) a planned observation program at the demonstration school, the reading center and, in other classrooms, special training programs through college-related courses and seminars and workshops and conferences.

While none of these activities dealt directly with desegregation, the purpose of the program was made clear by the board:

> It is the intent of this program through the multiplicity of its phases, to serve the varied needs of individuals of all creeds and ethnic backgrounds before problems attendant to desegregation come into traumatic reality. The improvement of instruction for all children is in our opinion, the best means of obviating problems of desegregation. We believe that Program PRIDE will bring about attitudinal changes in teachers and children to the extent that race will cease to be of significance in our educational program.
>
> The ultimate goal to which we aspire is to provide a school climate which accepts each child as a person of worth and which will, through a process of participation, involvement, and self-directed learning activities, produce self-actualized persons.[10]

A Title IV workshop was held in 1971 at Small to help teachers adjust to desegregated classroom conditions. No money was made available in 1972 through the Emergency School Assistance Program (ESAP)[11] because of an HEW report of October 1971, which noted that schools were not maintaining a representative staff. In the opinion of HEW staff, there were too many black teachers in some schools. The board declined to transfer faculty in October, so an application for ESAP funds totaling $125,000 was denied.

Numerous teaching innovations accompanied desegregation in Volusia County. Open classrooms and team teaching are now operating at the junior high level. There are now 34 Title I reading centers to service Title I and noneligible Title I students. Summer reading programs are intended to raise student reading levels. The Hoffman system which utilizes teaching machines for groups of six to eight as well as special tapes, records, filmstrips, and workbooks is to be initiated in grades K–3 and grade 7 from July 1–June 30, 1972–73. "The Bob Warner Systems 80" program, a reading program involving individualized instruction, teacher diagnosis and prescription, is also to be incorporated. Black studies material was inserted into social studies courses. "Negro History Week" and Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday are now celebrated at some schools. Inservice training in black history was provided for the teachers at Bethune Cookman College and Stetson University. Finally, teachers were urged to make home visits in order to gain a better understanding of the home environment of their students.

Another aid to smooth desegregation was the utilization of extra rooms which had been vacant at a number of white schools although the black schools had

[8] Program PRIDE Final Technical Report. Original Grant Period, Aug. 3, 1965–July 31, 1966. Volusia County Board of Public Instruction.

[9] VIS teachers "act as catalysts for change on school faculties by helping classroom teachers learn ways of meeting the personal needs of children through varying procedures, methods, equipment, materials and supplies." Final Technical Report—Aug. 31, 1965–July 31, 1966.

[10] Program PRIDE, Final Technical Report, Original Grant Period, Aug. 31, 1965–July 31, 1966, Volusia Co. Bd. of Public Instruction.

[11] Emergency School Assistance Program (ESAP) grants are Federal grants to school districts which are desegregating.

been overcrowded. Most of the formerly black schools had been built after 1954 and, although they were overcrowded and often lacked supplies and equipment, they were relatively new and attractive. Many individuals interviewed by Commission staff members reported that the availability of supplies and equipment was greatly increased with desegregation and maintenance was improved. Fences which had been requested in vain for a long time were now installed at formerly black schools in order to prevent vandalism. Several formerly black schools were closed.

Another helpful factor in the relatively peaceful desegregation in Volusia County was the positive role played by the Volusia Educational Association (VEA), an integrated teachers' organization, which was the result of a merger in 1966 of the white teachers' organization (VCEA) and its black counterpart (VCTA). The VEA's current president is black, and the organization is credited with "accomplishing a lot" in terms of keeping communication channels open for fruitful interracial discussion of problems associated with desegregation.

Students in some junior high schools initiated "rap" sessions, monitored by teachers, as an effort on their part to ease the transition.

Integration Within Schools

Homogeneous grouping has been used at some schools, and school administrators and teachers have expressed some concern at the results. The "General Educational Development" courses for low-achieving students at Campbell Center are now attended primarily by black students. As mentioned, low white referrals to Riverview and Volusia Avenue Elementary schools, which became exceptional child centers (Volusia Avenue also has kindergarten classes), caused the percentage of blacks at those schools to rise to 53.3 percent and 79.5 percent, respectively. The senior high level employs accelerated, average, and basic grouping areas. Discontent with the generally unsatisfactory results of homogeneous grouping at several schools was expressed by some teachers and school administrators who consider such grouping a problem requiring serious attention.

Some uneasiness between white and black students still continues, and black and white students tend to separate in the cafeteria, library, and in some classes at several schools. According to students of both races interviewed by Commission staff, black students are increasingly participating in extracurricular activities in junior and senior high schools, particularly in sports. Small Elementary now has a student council, recent elections for which found black students campaigning for whites and white students for black candidates. Small also has a school newspaper and Tri-Grade Y for girls, both drawing black and white students. A black girl was elected "Miss DeLand" for the first time by students at DeLand Senior High.

Most students interviewed said that they had friends of another race but seldom saw them after school because of the distance beween their homes. Some schools have encountered difficulty in organizing dances appealing to both blacks and whites and DeLand Senior High held two senior proms last year, one for each race.

Transportation

Transportation is provided at State expense for students who live more than 2 miles from school (about 15,800 or 48.9 percent). County and local funds pay for the busing of those who travel less than 2 miles (about 750). Any damage to the buses caused by pupils must be paid for by the parents of the guilty individual.

Both before and after February 1, 1970, 85 buses were used by the Volusia Board in the operation of the entire system for all grades. Before that date, 67 buses were in daily use on actual transportation routes, while the rest were being rotated through maintenance, kept as spares, and devoted to athletic activities, field trips, and other specific activities.

After February 1, 1970, an additional seven buses, or a total of 75, were required on routes, and the number free for maintenance, standby, and other purposes was correspondingly reduced. The additional operating cost of the transportation system as a result of implementation of Plan B–1 was about $38,500.

During the school year, 1971–72, approximately 16,500 students in Volusia County were bused, of whom at least 3,600 were black. This figure compares with 12,026 students bused in 1969, of whom 2,107 were black. There are now 81 bus routes, and each bus makes about five trips.

In the Halifax area, total mileage increased from 159 to 264 miles in February 1970, and total mileage increased in the DeLand area from 81 to 110. The longest ride takes 50 minutes to cover about 25 miles, while the average ride is 15–20 minutes and less than 5 miles. Buses leave from Small, for example, from 7–7:45 a.m., and the longest ride is 20 minutes or 5 miles.

As a result of segregated housing patterns in Volusia County, the buses tend to carry either white or black students. There is therefore no opportunity for possible interracial friction on most buses. No serious racial incidents have occurred on buses carrying both black and white students, despite the early fears of some parents.

Volusia County buses have an excellent safety record. The buses have travelled a total of 1½ million miles with only 12 accidents, none of which resulted in deaths or injuries.

Training for bus drivers, who include both whites and blacks, has been careful and has included driving desegregated Head Start groups. Integrated meetings of bus drivers have been held to discuss how to deal with children on the buses.

Disciplining Students

Disciplinary problems were often made more difficult at first by some teachers of both races who were uncertain how to handle infractions. The workshops were useful, in the opinion of some teachers, in helping them learn to cope with these situations. Today, they usually involve fights between members of the same race rather than between blacks and whites. Some racial clashes have occurred among the Special Education students, but these account for only about 1 percent of the disciplinary cases, according to one school official. Most schools reported that the number of disciplinary problems they dealt with rather closely paralleled racial ratios at the school, which is to say that primarily they involved only whites.

Disruptions, Violence, and Crime

As mentioned, there were incidents accompanying desegregation in February 1970. Some fights occurred and threats were exchanged. Rumors and exaggerations spread, usually from parent to parent. Early morning telephone calls and slashed tires plagued some county school officials for a while.

Fears and apprehensions centered largely around the former black schools. White parents were initially concerned about sending their children to schools in low-income, predominantly black neighborhoods. Rumors and fears were particularly rife at first at Bonner, where a bomb threat was received.

Black opposition to the plan centered on Campbell, now an integrated 7th grade center and formerly a black junior-senior high with a record of athletic championships and an excellent band. A petition circulated protesting the change at Campbell and drew 600 signatures. Southwestern High School in DeLand, also previously all-black, was the center of opposition to the plan among black families in DeLand.

Much opposition faded as the fears and myths failed to materialize. Physical conditions and security were improved at the formerly black schools. The principal at Bonner was soon regarded by white and black parents as one of the finest administrators in the county. A steady decline in thefts and shakedowns began. Although the Ku Klux Klan had been active in the past in some rural pockets of the county, no Klan hostility to the plan was apparent during this period.

Parents began to visit the schools, which helped dissipate many of their worries. Many were surprised at the relative lack of disruptions and violence, comparing the situation in Volusia County with that in other parts of the State where major incidents had taken place.

In October 1971, blacks and whites at Mainland Senior High had a confrontation reportedly instigated by an off-campus dispute near a black project. Police intervention was prevented and the threatened racial clash was avoided.

As in many other school districts in the Nation, drug usage among students is considered a problem by some school authorities. The assistant principal at one school in a predominantly black area observed that of 27 drug cases during the 1971–72 school year, six involved black students. A school board member said that drugs, not integration, was the major problem in Volusia County schools.

Teachers' Attitudes Toward the Plan

Previous to the plan, 16 black elementary principals headed schools in the county. When the plan was begun, all but three (at Small, Bonner, and Starke) were named associate principals at no loss in pay when their schools integrated. There had been three black senior high principals before, but none remained after February 1, 1970. Two black principals remain at Chisholm and Campbell Junior Highs.

The implementation of Plan B–1 involved a faculty shift. Teachers were arbitrarily assigned by race, but volunteers were transferred according to their choice. While the board claims it has no difficulty maintaining a representative staff at the elementary level, it con-

cedes that it may encounter difficulty in finding a black replacement should someone such as a black calculus teacher leave.

The only recruiting for teachers in 1971–72 was done at two black colleges, Florida A&M and Bethune-Cookman. There has been some difficulty in keeping black administrators, according to one source, as better paying jobs become available for them elsewhere. A board member said that the search for qualified black teachers continues and is a matter of top priority.

Some teachers were moved from several schools because of their apparent inability to work with pupils of another race. A free-transfer policy is currently followed, although the 78–22 faculty racial composition remains the guideline to which the free-transfer policy must adhere.

Teachers interviewed by Commission staff reported that they mingle well across racial lines, and that some who could not adjust have retired or gone elsewhere. Teachers socialize particularly well at Small, where the black principal has received praise from numerous white and black teachers.

Attitudes of Black and White Parents

Many parents interviewed felt that desegregation is proceeding surprisingly smoothly today in Volusia County. Some parents of children attending Small have asked not to have them moved again as they now feel that Small is "their school". A PTA carnival was successful at Small this year, with many black and white parents attending. Parents have volunteered to serve as teachers' aides with small groups and individuals at the school. Some are volunteer librarians. Both black and white parents have joined to form the South Street Project Association, which repainted some of Small's facilities. A Public Relations Group has focused on human relations projects at Small, including the extension of courtesies to the school staff on such occasions as birthdays or marriages. The PTA at Campbell School is now fully integrated.

Some black and white parents still prefer freedom-of-choice, but several stated that they did not want to go back to the old method and that the educational system in Volusia County was better today. While no systematic research has yet been undertaken, one observer said that comparison of some achievement scores suggests gains in performance by both blacks and whites with a noticeable decrease in failing levels. One white parent, whose 9th grade son is having reading difficulties, said that her son's problem has nothing to do with school desegregation. She said she is more concerned about the quality of teaching and the "relevancy" of her son's education than anything else.

One school board member concluded that: "Initially the parents were very upset by the plan, but the students have always been calm and cool. Now everyone is calm. Things have worked out very well."

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